# Individual talent in the Hausa Poetic Tradition:

## A STUDY OF AKILU ALIYU AND HIS ART

by

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to that memorable afternoon in 1969
when I met Akilu for the first time
and invited him to my home in Lagos,
and he recited some of his Wakoki,
and I and my wife Uwa,
and the children Rabi, Bature and Mimi,
with Bibi yet to be born,
and my nephew Sani and friend Ahmadu,
all joined in the amshi.

## Abstract

The thesis examines a representative collection of works by the contemporary Hausa poet Aƙilu Aliyu in the context of Hausa verse generally and in particular the literate tradition.

Chapter I outlines the relationship between the two traditions of Hausa verse (Waƙa) - the oral genre, Waƙa I, and the literate, Waƙa II; a biographical sketch of Aƙilu; and a thematic classification of the poems in the corpus.

Chapter II describes the corpus in detail with regard to "segmental", syllabic rhyme (a traditional feature in the literate genre) and considers the extent to which Aƙilu conforms to or departs from this rhyme tradition.

Chapter III demonstrates tonal or "suprasegmental" rhyme, a phenomenon conspicuous in the corpus but not hitherto observed for Hausa verse although it seems to be significant in both genres.

Chapter IV, on prosodic rhythm, investigates how far Classical Arabic prosody on the one hand and Hausa Waƙa I on the other provide the rhythmic inspiration for Aƙilu as compared with other Waƙa II authors.

Chapter V surveys Aƙilu's style in language, examining first various forms of poetic licence (dialect, register, loans, linguistic deviation, enjambment and run-on); then rhetorical patterning in parallelism of various types (phonological, morphological, syntactic, thematic, semantic, linking); and lastly figurative language (in the use of simile, metaphor, symbol and allegory). This final chapter concludes with a brief co-ordinating critical commentary to illustrate the convergence of features of thematic content, form and style in one poem, KALUBALE, considered as a unique artistic entity.

Finally, it is concluded that while to some extent he follows the inherited tradition, Akilu has also developed and enriched it with his individual artistic talent.

Appendix A lists alphabetically all the poems in the corpus with a note of some of their features, and Appendix B contains the text and translation of KALUBALE.

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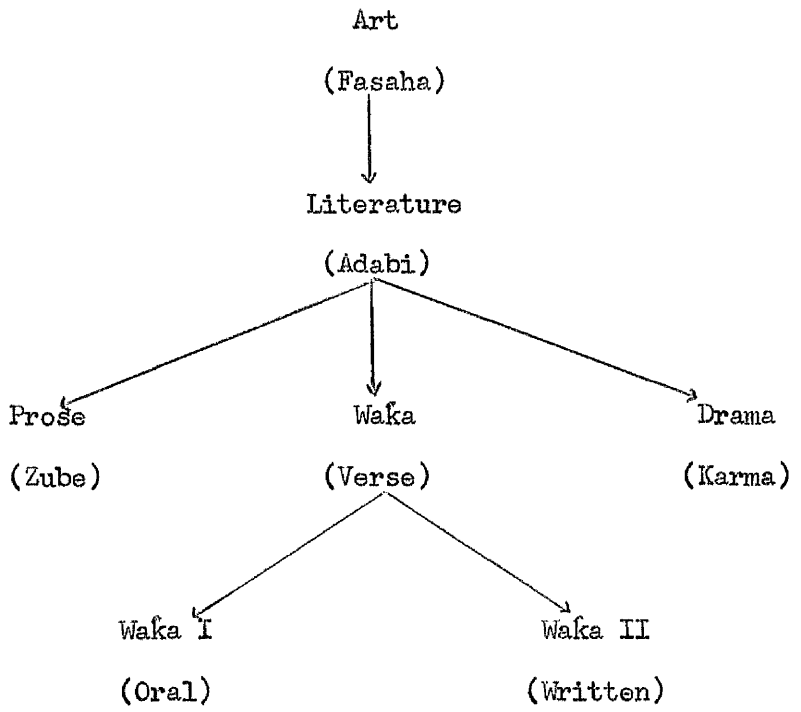
## Chapter I: INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. General

It might appear axiomatic that a thesis in the field of Hausa Literature would be concerned with written literature since in the European context at least 'literature' has always been understood to be written literature. But over the past 20 years or so, it has become increasingly recognized that in the African context, there is much more material that is not written and yet can be measured by much the same standards as are applied to the (written) literature; hence now the wide acceptance of the superficially contradictory term 'oral literature'.

In the Hausa context, there is good justification for recognizing the existence of both the written and the oral literature, and for verse one might consider using the term 'poetry' for the first and 'song' for the second, while using the more general term 'verse' to cover both. On the other hand, if the Hausas' own terminology is used as a guide, the distinction would appear invalid since the same term waka is used for both. Moreover, much 'song' clearly has poetic quality and for 'poetry' the typical mode of performance is also singing.

Nevertheless, a detailed study of the situation shows that two traditions do in fact exist side by side, traditions which can clearly be distinguished even though they sometimes overlap. In order not to beg the question, these two genres or streams of Hausa verse (Waka) will be referred to in this study as Waka I (for the oral) and Waka II (for the written or literate). Our starting point, therefore, can be shown diagramatically with reference to other main branches of Hausa literature thus:




As perhaps in most cultures which are partly oral and partly literate (cf. Swahili) some of the differences between Hausa Waka I and Waka II would seem to be predictable from the very fact that the one genre is orally composed and not traditionally written down, while the other is normally written down as it is composed. It is worth noting some of these differences briefly.

## 1.2. The genre and its background

Among the general differences between Waka I and Waka II is first, the fact that composition and performance in Waka I are often inseparable whereas in Waka II they are distinct activities. In the case of Waka I, composition/performance is paid for, hence patronage and professionalism, whereas in Waka II this is not the case. Thus again, while Waka I typically requires a public audience or a public occasion for its performance, Waka II, which also ultimately aims at a wide audience, can and often is performed in private.

In terms of extra-literary context, the main differences are as follows. Waka I is sung, with or without choral response, typically accompanied on a musical instrument; but though Waka II is normally sung, it is also sometimes simply recited in a manner closer to normal speech, and its performance is mostly solo and is not musically accompanied. Related to this is the fact that Waka I is typically associated with a refrain or amshi, whereas this is not typical of Waka II. Waka I also has a fixed tune, which is that set by the original composer/performer, whereas Waka II can be and often is performed to a variety of tunes. Waka I has a generally greater metrical freedom, especially in line-initial position, than Waka II which has generally much greater metrical consistency. The musical aspect in Waka I is thus generally more in the forefront of attention than in Waka II.

As regards textual differences, one notes, first, that Waka I has much more variety in the number of lines that constitute a 'verse' as well as in the number of syllables in a line; in Waka II all the verses or stanzas have typically the same number of lines in each single work and the number of syllables per line is generally consistent, or varies only within a small range limited by metrical factors. Complete repetition of lines or phrases (quite apart from refrains) is a feature of Waka I, resulting in what might be termed 'formulaic' expressions, but in Waka II repetition, where found, is more partial and then mainly for stylistic, rhetorical purposes, and complete repetition of a whole line is untypical. Rhyme (segmental) is not a prosodic principle of Waka I but in Waka II generally it is. Again, in Waka I the opening and closing doxologies as well as the use of Arabicisms are untypical, whereas in Waka II they are very common. Besides rhyme (segmental) and doxology, metre is another important formal feature originating from Arabic that is untypical in Hausa Waka I but is associated with Waka II.

Finally, were one to attempt to generalize the overall differences, one might very tentatively suggest that while Waka I is appreciated first for its sound organization (its tune and the voice quality of the artist etc.), secondly for its language, and finally for its subject-matter, Waka II is generally appreciated initially for its theme, then its language, and lastly for its sound organization. Obviously, it is difficult in most respects to isolate these areas of appeal for any one Waka, but equally obviously, and as pointed out earlier, a great deal of overlap obtains in many Waka texts. It remains only to observe again that the oral and literate traditions of Hausa verse exist side by side and are equally well known to composers of both genres and so it is not surprising if some interaction takes place, especially perhaps in the form of influence in the matter of rhythm and refrain from Waka I, which is obviously age-long, on Waka II, which came into being barely two centuries ago.

Such are the traditions which lie behind the flowering of modern Hausa verse which, as others have shown (Greenberg, Arnott, Skinner, Hiskett) is characterized by both a continuation of and a development from the traditions of the past. They form the background to the compositions of modern Hausa authors such as Akilu Aliyu with whom this thesis is concerned.

However, before embarking on an account of Akilu Aliyu's background and the poems on which this thesis is based, it is appropriate to give a summary account of work that has already been done in the field of Hausa verse.

Previous work published on Hausa verse has usually been either very general or restricted to studies of individual texts. Greenberg's

discussion in the article 'Hausa verse prosody' (1949) of the difference between Waka I and Waka II, which he terms "popular" and "learned" respectively, is perhaps the most important general study, followed by D. Scharfe and Y. Aliyu's 'The Tradition of Hausa poetry' (1967). As concerns Waka I, this is less the concern of the present study than Waka II, but it is worth calling attention to what has been published on this genre, namely some texts and comments in articles by the German scholar R. Prietze (1916-1918, 1930), a Ph.D. thesis and some articles by A.V. King (1966, 1967), an article by D. Muhammad (1971), and another Ph.D. thesis by D. Abdulkadir (1975), as given in the bibliography.

As regards Waka II, Hiskett's History of Hausa Islamic Verse (1975) contains a fairly full discussion of Hausa Islamic verse up to 1920, and Paden's Religion and Political Culture in Kano (1973) also contains some general comment on the role of verse in Hausa society. Most past work on modern verse has been of two kinds. Either it has been concerned with classification, as in Paden (1965) and L. Muhammad (1966), or it has consisted of exploratory studies of individual poems, concerned either with subject-matter (Hiskett 1975) or form and style (King 1968, Arnott 1975), or both (Arnott 1968, Skinner 1969, 1971, D. Muhammad 1973). The only published study of an individual poet and several of his works is Abdulkadir (1974) on Sa'adu Zungur, but this too is more concerned with the subject-matter, especially its background, and less with form and style.

Many more studies thus need to be undertaken of individual works from many angles, (especially from the formal and stylistic viewpoints) as well as overall studies of the works of individual poets as a basis for comparison with others. This thesis attempts to make some contribution towards filling this gap by studying a considerable collection of works by

Afkilu Aliyu - a modern author of Waka II, as we shall see -, examining them partly from the point of view of thematic content but mainly from the point of view of form and style. The choice of Afkilu Aliyu has been determined by several factors, the most important being the high regard in which he is held by the Hausa public in general, and even by other Hausa poets, his use of verse to voice his deep concern for social reform, the immediate impression of his poetic artistry which is given by even a preliminary acquaintance with his verse, and the fact that he has not been the subject of any major academic attention. As will be largely apparent as the thesis proceeds, the core of the poetic corpus examined in this study is Waka II since the poems were composed in writing and not for commercial gain, that when performed they are not musically accompanied, and that they have segmental rhyme, regular stanzaic forms and consistent metrical patterns, to mention a few of their main features. On this basis, therefore, Afkilu Aliyu is clearly to be regarded as a Waka II rather than a Waka I artist.

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The remainder of this Introductory Chapter contains a brief biographical note on Afkilu the man the poet and a thematic survey of the poetic corpus on which this study is based.

## 1.3. The poet: a biographical note

Afkilu was born in the first Muslim month of Muḥarram in 1918 at Jega in Gwandu emirate of the then Sokoto province, now North-Western state of Nigeria. His father Malam Aliyu Madaha, who originated from Kyarmi (a village some miles away, whence the family had long moved), was well known as an expert reciter of the famous Arabic madahu (praise) poem on the Prophet Muhammad, the Ishriniyat (Hausa Ishiriniya) of the Moroccan

poet Al-Fāzāzī (hence Aliyu's nickname Madaha). Aliyu's father was Mahmudu son of Ahmadu son of Musa Kallamu, and it is said that this line descended from Abdussalam who was first an ally and later a rebel during the jihad of Shehu Usmanu dan Fodiyo (cf. Skinner et al. 1973; see Last, M. 1967). Akilu's mother, Rabi'atu, was a native of Jega. Further details on his immediate kin are given by Akilu Aliyu himself in his poem CIBIYA II (vv. 95-97).

Akilu began learning the Qur'ān from his father at an early age and when Malam Aliyu died about 1931, (several years after Rabi'atu) Akilu continued learning from other teachers such as Malam Muhammadu Dan Takusa, Malam Ban-Allah and Malam Abdulmumini, from whom he also began ilmi, or the study of other religious books (such as Lahallari, Ishimāwi, etc.) in the traditional way.

At this time Jega had long been one of the most important commercial centres of the province (see Arnett, J. 1920) and trade in sheep and goats, cloth and kola nuts kept the town in vigorous touch with areas as far south as Ibadan, Ikko (modern Lagos) and Ghana, and as far east as Kano. As he grew up, Akilu took part in some of the trading expeditions and one of his earliest (oral) compositions (see below) was on one such expedition to the south. It was from this time that Akilu took up his father's trade of tailoring and embroidery (dinkin hannu) which has been his main means of livelihood up to the present day. In fact, at the end of many of his poems, after giving his name as author, Akilu uses the trade name Madinki i.e. the Tailor.

From the age of fifteen, Akilu used to go to Kano very often - in search of ilmi and business - until he decided to settle there in about 1936 when he was 18. For the next three or four years, his ilmi

teacher was Malam Mahmudu Na Malam Salga, and Malam Salga himself was the shaikh of the Tijjaniyya Sufi Order of which Akilu is a disciple. From about 1940, Akilu spent the next twenty years or so in Bornu and Adamawa provinces (the former North-East State), where he joined N.E.P.U. (the Northern Elements Progressive Union), the opposition political party against the then ruling Northern People's Congress (N.P.C.) in the Northern Region. This period enabled him to learn Kanuri as well as Fula. Most of his vehement political poetry was composed during these years, which were spent not only in active political propaganda (pro-NEPU and anti-N.P.C.) but also in setting up and teaching Islamiyya classes for both young and adult members of NEPU of either sex. Some such classes (e.g. in Yerwa and Azare) grew into schools and Akilu had a busy programme teaching literacy (in Arabic) and the basic tenets of Islam to children in the mornings, to male adult members in the afternoons, and in the late afternoons, to female adult members (who consisted chiefly of single women or prostitutes). During this time he was a Legal adviser to NEPU, and he played such an active and vocal political role that in 1959 he was imprisoned for six months. On his release at the end of that year, Akilu moved to Kano, where he carried on his old trade of <u>dinkin hannu</u> and continued composing religious, social, didactic as well as political poetry until the 1966 (January) military coup when politics were banned in the country. This meant the cessation of his pro-NEPU, anti-NPC political compositions, but of course his other political, social and religious compositions have continued to the present moment. In early 1974, Akilu was engaged to teach Islamic Religious Knowledge in the Festival primary school, Kano, and has been doing this since.

Akilu Aliyu began composing poetry in early youth and though it

is uncertain what his first composition was, it appears that he first began as a Waka I artist, then later became a Waka II artist. One of his earliest (oral) compositions resulted from a quarrel which the intemperate youth had with an elder brother's wife, Majusu, and from it the following lines are still remembered by him:

Duniya mai juyayi,

Kai! Duniya mai juyayi.

. . . . . .

Ai duniya tsohon yayi.

. . . . . .

Majusu ta yi zaman zamba

ta ware Wane da danginai.

. . . . . .

Amma wuri tas samu don

Kasko ba zai ki kwatarni ba.

World, the fickle one

O! world, the fickle one.

. . . . . .

Yes, the world (is) an outdated mode.

. . . . . .

Majusu has committed mischief

She has parted so-and-so from his kin.

. . . . . .

But it's a chance she has found for

The kasko pot will not reject the kwatarni pot.

The composition, the poet said in interview, is based on the rhythm of another Waka I, a girl's wedding song. The second example of Akilu's earliest compositions is a recollection of the worst trading expedition the poet ever had, before or since. Akilu and his fellow-travellers had set out from Mahuta (in Niger State) for Ilorin with their herd of sheep and goats, but as a result of the heavy daily downpour of rain throughout the 23 days of the journey, Akilu lost almost all his sheep, and a year later, when he pondered on the abortive expedition, he composed the piece, from which he has recalled the following lines:

Yau nai kurum kuma nai jangwam,
nai tsokaci ga biday yanzun.

Nai tsokaci ga biday yanzun,
ni ban ga ta cika riba ba.

Yau nai kurum, kuma nai jangwam,
yau na tuno da fataucina,
wanda niy yi bara cikin malka.

Wannan fataucin ya rabkan,
ya ban wuya ba riba ba.

Today I'm rendered mute, I'm confused and in despair:
I ponder on the present day's search (for wealth).

I ponder on the present day's search:
I find it not fully profitable.

Today I'm rendered mute, I'm confused and in despair,
today I recall my trading journey,
which I made last year at the rain's height.

That trading journey did knock me hard,

it brought me hardship, not profit.

Apart from oral composition, Akilu has also composed in Arabic on several topics. He composed elegiac verses on the death of his son Mamudu (during his Borno days), a farewell note to his wife Hajiya Hawwa'u at Ngaundere, and published a short political poem Qasīdat al-Istighāthah dated 23, Ramaḍān 1389 A.H. in Jos. This poem has six quintains, the sixth having seven lines, it rhymes in -ya, and may be illustrated with the third quintain:

Fa hā hiya yā Rabbi bayna yadayka
Wa anta mughīthun shakaunā ilayka
Aghithnā aghithnā nurid mā ladayka
Fa innā jamī?an fa minka ilayka
Ajiznā ma?al Ummi Nājīriya.

And when in 1959 Akilu was imprisoned for allegedly making treasonable utterances, he composed three couplets in Arabic, which he and his fellow political prisoners chanted as they broke stone for building. These 3 verses, of which the first couplet was used as a refrain, are:

Yal?anahu-llāhu man ramānī
Bi ghayri mā qālahū lisānī.

Lamma dakhaltu-lsijna innī
Ra'aytu mā rāqa fī ?uyūni.

Ra'aytu gabza, qultu wa mādha?
Qīla ṭa?āmu ahli sujūnī.

But although Akilu has composed Waka I verses and (written) Arabic poems, it is his Hausa Waka II compositions, which are far more numerous and more significant, that are the central concern of this thesis; for although his Waka I and Arabic compositions are not insignificant, Akilu is first and foremost a Hausa Waka II artist, who composes in Ajami and is proudly conscious of his standing as a literate poet, as is made abundantly clear by his own reference to the pen in his poem CIBIYA II vv. 83-86:

83 Madalla, Alkalami, abokin fira!
Ni ko da yaushe idan kana hannuna,

84 Ka karfafa mini ramnana na ji kwari,
Ka sakan nashaɗa, karsashi a jikina;

85 In tsefe kalma ware dalla-dalla,
Haske shi ka tuzgo cikin kirjina;

86 In tsefe ainin gaskiya ɗaɗɗata:
Gangar mahauta ba ta razana ɓauna.

83 Thanks to you, Pen, the good companion!
For me, whenever you reside in my hand,

84 You strengthen my weakness and I feel strength,
You excite me and invigorate my body,

85 (That) I may comb words separate, one by one,
(As) light beams forth in my chest,

86 (That) I may sift the essence of Truth the bitter:
The butchers' drum does not scare the wild cow.

What led Akilu to write poetry is uncertain, but he himself says that he first began writing poetry by composing on religious themes in Arabic, and it is likely that this occurred during his first Kano period (1936- c. 1940). His father's expertise with Ishriniya and his studies in ilmi and in Tijjaniyya sufism must have initiated and sustained his interest on these lines. Nor is his first Hausa Waka II composition certain as to date, though again here the subject-matter was religious praise. It appears that the Hausa Islamic verse composed by the jihad leaders at the beginning of the last century - religious and didactic verses, some of which Akilu learnt by heart as a boy - played an important role in influencing Akilu to compose Waka II himself. With regard to dates, it should be mentioned that a detailed chronology of the poems has not been possible, though in some cases the date of composition is known and in some others deducible. Some poems date from his early years in Kano, others from his Borno days, others again post-date his return to Kano and the approximate period of composition will be indicated, where this is known and appropriate, by reference to

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| K.1 | 1st Kano period | | (1936 - 1940) |
| B. | Borno | " | (c.1940 - 1959) |
| K.2a | 2nd Kano | " | (a) pre - 1966 (i.e. 1960-1966) |
| K.2b | | | (b) post - 1966 to-date. |

One reason for the uncertainty about the date of composition of many of the poems must be related to the fact that Akilu is such a prolific author that he can hardly remember his dates except in the most unusual or the more recent cases. Related to this is also the fact that the number of poems he has composed must remain uncertain, though

he himself estimates that, counting both fragments and complete poems, in Hausa, Arabic, Fula and Kanuri, he has composed over one thousand pieces, ranging from a two-line poem to one with 1,000 verses. The great majority of these - at least 700 - were written in Hausa. But though neither the total amount nor the chronology of his compositions is verifiable (since in 1962 he lost a good number of those he had composed) one can easily observe Akilu's constant, one might almost say, obsessive readiness to compose on virtually any subject of his life and of society (for some specific themes see next section).

Akilu is not merely a prolific poet obsessed with writing poetry privately, but an active and energetic promoter of poetic creativity in others. He has not only entered for several poetic competitions, which he has almost invariably won, but has himself acted on the judges' or commentators' panels in some others. He has composed poetry for or at the special request of Arts Festivals, Student societies, the radio and television, and the Hausa newspaper Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo. He has formed and organized the Hausa Fasaha, which is a club of Hausa poets all over Nigeria, from Sokoto to Maiduguri and from Kano to Lagos. This club of older poets, of which Akilu has been president since early 1972 when it was formally launched, is in contrast to the Hikima Club of (generally younger) poets from Kano only, whose president is Mudi Sipikin and which was formed in 1970. But even before this time, as well as since, Akilu has been active in informal poetry groups and in the promotion of poetic creation of high standard generally.

### 1.4. The Corpus: a thematic introduction

In 1974, whenthe present research was embarked upon, there was hardly any available poetic text by Akilu Aliyu in a published form. He himself had earlier undertaken the printing of a few of his poems by

printing presses in Kano and Jos, but they were in Ajami (the Hausa script adapted from the Arabic). During the Borno days when most of his NEPU political poetry was composed, a number were also published in boko (the Hausa script adapted from the Roman) and published in broadsheets or in the now defunct Kano political Hausa newspaper the Daily Comet. In the early 1960's, when the now well known social reform poems ''Yar Gagara' and 'Dangata' (on marriage and prostitution) were composed, they were produced in parts in commercial quantities on gramophone records by E.M.I. and Tabansi, but they now appear to have been sold out. The major Hausa newspaper Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo (GTFK) has also from time to time published an Akilu Aliyu poem mostly on a religious theme (e.g. 'Wakar Yabon Manzon Allah' in its issue of 31st December 1973, and which is part of the poem referred to as RIJIYA in this study). When at the end of 1967 Akilu's poem on the Nigerian Civil War (called first 'Wakar Yabon Sojoji' and later on 'Jiki Magayi' and referred to in this thesis as SOJA) had won the first place in the nation-wide poetry competition, it was also published in this newspaper (February 1968. The text of this poem has also since been published in Skinner et al. 1973, with an English translation and some commentary). Finally, the poem 'Hausa mai ban haushi' (referred to in this study as HAUSA I) was composed in 1970 for the annual Hausa Week of the student society Kungiyar Hausa at Abdullahi Bayero College, Kano, and its text, along with a critical commentary in Hausa by the present writer, was published in Harsunan Nigeriya, III, 1973.

In short, there is not a single available published collection of the poetry of Akilu Aliyu, and this is why one of my first undertakings for this research was to transcribe from tape recordings and transliterate from the poet's Ajami manuscripts a selection of his poems for

publication. This has resulted in the production of Fasaha Akiliya, which is an edited collection of 14 poems by Akilu Aliyu published by the Northern Nigerian Publishing Company, Zaria, 1976, and which is submitted in support of this thesis. But in addition to these 14 poems (of which ''Yar Gagara' and 'Dan Daudu' are treated together as one poem referred to as 'YAR GAGARA I in the present study), 65 other poems were collected and studied in greater or less detail for the thesis. These 79 poems, of which three (JIHA 12, KAIKAI and 'YAR GAGARA II) are fragments, comprise the core of this study, though occasionally reference is made to other Akilu Aliyu compositions outside the corpus where necessary or relevant.

Apart from the analysis of the texts themselves, much light was thrown on the meaning and significance as well as on other background aspects of the poems by a good many interviews with Akilu Aliyu himself during two field tours to Nigeria (in June-October 1974 and June-August 1976). In addition, much supplementary information, and examples of poems by other authors (in recorded and manuscript form), were obtained in interviews with Waka II artists, teachers and students of Hausa literature and private individuals in Kano, Zaria, Katsina, Kaduna, Sokoto, Birnin Kebbi, Gwandu, Jega and Argungu, as well as from visits to the radio stations in Kano, Kaduna, and Sokoto, the National Archives and the television station in Kaduna, and the library of the Centre for the Study of Nigerian Languages, Bayero University College, Kano.

The great majority of these 79 poems which comprise the corpus on which this study is based are in one or other of the two traditional stanzaic forms, 46 being in couplets and 32 in "quintains" (a useful term coined by Professor Arnott (1968) for a stanza of 5 lines). There

is, however, one single unusual poem in quatrains. With one exception, each of these 79 poems has its own full title (these being themselves sufficiently ingenious and significant to merit separate study); but short titles have been coined and adopted here for ease of reference in the body of this study. These short, usually one-word reference titles are cited underlined and in capital letters, and where relevant the number of their verses and the stanzaic form are given in brackets; but other texts are not in capitals (except for initial letters or proper names) but are given in single quotes and if published, are underlined. The 79 poems are listed alphabetically by these short reference titles in the Appendix A, which also gives summary indications of their main features as described in detail in the thesis.

Although the full corpus of 79 poems is but a mere fraction of Akilu's total poetic output, it nevertheless covers a considerable thematic and stylistic spectrum of his poetry. The formal and stylistic features of these poems are studied in some depth in the main chapters of this thesis but here it is appropriate to indicate briefly the main themes, though some aspects of these themes are returned to in the body of the thesis, especially where they are highlighted by formal and stylistic devices.

Although classification of poems by subject-matter does not generally yield much significant information about each particular poem, especially in its relation to others, for our purpose in this thesis the corpus of 79 poems is divided into five major thematic classes.

I religious

II social/moral

III political

IV praise

V personal

In terms of size, the religious class (I) and the political (III) are the largest (with 23 poems each), followed by the social/moral (with 16), then the praise (IV) and finally the personal (V). Each major class has subclasses as follows (see Table A1 for details).

I. The religious class is subdivided into four classes: (a) the madahu (religious praise) and sira (historical) subclass which contains 8 poems whose theme centres on the Prophet Muhammad, e.g. ISRA'I (in Fasaha Akiliya); (b) 3 poems on the tenets of Islam, e.g. HASKE; (c) another 3 poems on wa'azi or homily, e.g. DUNIYA (in Fasaha Akiliya); and (d) 9 poems which are concerned with the poet's 'private' religious experiences, such as SAKO and HAJI (both in Fasaha Akiliya), which deal respectively with his wish and fulfilment in connection with the pilgrimage to Mecca; and JAKADIYA which deals with the Tijjaniyya Sufi Order.

II. The social/moral class is subdivided into three. In (a) there are 6 poems dealing with the subject of marriage and prostitution. Five of these, 'YAR GAGARA I (i.e. ''Yar Gagara' and 'Dan Daudu' in Fasaha Akiliya), DANGATA, GORA and AURE (but not 'YAR GAGARA II which is a tahmisi of 'YAR GAGARA I) may be termed, for want of a better phrase, the socio-domestic quartet, which are all in couplets, have the same metrical pattern, and form a chronologically thematic unity by themselves (and deserve a full-scale sociological study). (b) contains 5 poems all dealing with education, e.g. KADAURA (which won the 1970 Kano State Festival of the Arts poetry competition) and KALUBALE (both in Fasaha Akiliya); and (c) contains 6 poems which have to do with various aspects of wider social morality and culture, e.g. HAUSA I (in Fasaha Akiliya) and AL'ADU (which was specifically commissioned by the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, Kaduna, in 1975).

III. The 'praise' class comprises three sub-divisions. In (a) there are 6 poems referring to certain individuals, their themes being variously panegyric, e.g. UMMARA, a combination of praise and apology, e.g. AMSA in Fasaha Akiliya, and elegy as in MURTALA. (b) contains 2 poems which have to do with the praise of a place (LEGAS, in Fasaha Akiliya) and an establishment (TALBIJIN). (c) contains 4 poems whose theme is the appraisal of other subjects or events, e.g. cattle or the rains (SANIYA and DAMINA respectively, both in Fasaha Akiliya).

IV. The political poems subdivide into two: (a) the N.E.P.U. political poems of which there are 10, e.g. TAURARO, and (b) other poems with a political subject other than N.E.P.U., of which there are 13 poems, e.g. the fragment JIHA 12 on the creation of the twelve states in Nigeria in 1967, and SOJA on the Nigerian Civil War (published in GTFK, February 1968, and in Skinner et al. 1973).

V. The last thematic class contains 5 personal poems which are not subdivided. These deal with no single topic other than the poet's own private thoughts or feelings, whether in connection with the car accident which led to a long period in hospital with a broken leg in September 1962 (CUTA, in Fasaha Akiliya), his disillusionment with his Kano life (CIBIYA I and CIBIYA II), or his views on life and art in general in the fragment KAIKAI. In Table A1, which follows, all the 79 poems are listed by their short reference titles, with their full original titles shown on the right and, in the centre columns, the number of stanzas and whether they are in couplets (2), quintains (5), or quatrains (4).

Table A1. CORPUS

Thematic classes

## I - RELIGIOUS

### Ia: The Prophet Muhammad (including madahu and sira)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Bege | 83/2 | Bege ya zuwa gun masoyi |
| 2 | Isra'i | 104/5 | Haske mai ganar da basira |
| 3 | Kafiyya | 254/2 | =/Mai uwa daban da maraya |
| 4 | Koko | 124/5 | Kokon mabarata |
| 5 | Maulidi I | 41/5 | Godiyar Sarki Allah |
| 6 | Maulidi II | 35/5 | Daren babbar salla |
| 7 | Maulidi III | 63/5 | Hasken Asuba |
| 8 | Rijiya | 26/5 | Mun tona sabuwar rijiya |

### Ib: Islamic law and jurisprudence (fikihu)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Haske | 208/2 | Hasken Zukata |
| 2 | Gaskiya | 203/2 | Gaskiya mai daci |
| 3 | Nasiha | 66/2 | Nasiha zuwa gun 'yan'uwa |

### Ic: Homily, religious reform (wa'azi)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Duniya | 136/5 | Duniya rawar 'yanmata/Hindu mata mai zara |
| 2 | Tuba I | 79/2 | Allah sanya mu gane |
| 3 | Tuba II | 25/2 | Tuba maganin kazamin aiki |

### Id: Personal religious experience (including the Tijjaniyya sect)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Sako | 57/2 | Sako a hannun mumini |
| 2 | Haji | 113/5 | Aikin Haji ya wuce wasa |
| 3 | Ado Sanusi | 167/2 | Godiyar Allah Kudusi |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | Bango | 72/2 | Bangon Gabas |
| 5 | Faila | 80/2 | Kamshin bishiyar Faila |
| 6 | Guzuri | 47/5 | Isasshen Guzuri |
| 7 | Ibrahima | 117/2 | Inyasiyya Ibrahimiyya |
| 8 | Jakadiya | 103/2 | Jakadiyar fikiri |
| 9 | Usman | 29/5 | Tijjaniyya Usmaniyya |

## II - MORAL/SOCIAL

### IIa: Socio-domestic (marriage and prostitution)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 'Yar Gagara I | 111/2 | 'Yar Gagara/Kwamacala |
| 2 | 'Yar Gagara II | 84*/5 | Jiya da Yau/Sabo turken wawa |
| 3 | Dangata | 357/2 | Dangata |
| 4 | Gora | 101/2 | Gorar kanmu nake rabka ta |
| 5 | Aure | 110/5 | Aure ya zarci ba'a |
| | | | Da shi akan tsere sa'a |

### IIb: Educational

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Kalubale | 48/2 | A yau ne garnannen buki |
| | | | Na wakokin kalubale |
| 2 | Kadaura | 87/2 | Kadaura babbar inuwa |
| 3 | Yaro | 81/5 | Yaro ba ya zama babba |
| | | | In ba ilmi ya samu ba |
| 4 | 'Yan Makaranta | 184/2 | Mai motsarwa |
| | | | Kan aiki da barin yin kyuya |
| 5 | Somi | 55/2 | Somin tabin almajiran makaranta |

IIc: General manners and morals (al'adu, ɗabi'u)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ci Gaba | 384/2 | Ci Gaba |
| 2 | Hakuri | 263/2 | Hakuri maganin zaman tare |
| 3 | Hausa I | 86/2 | Hausa mai ban haushi |
| 4 | Hausa II | 37/5 | Harshen Hausa ya bunkasa |
| 5 | Al'adu | 63/5 | Ga batun al'adunmu<br>Wanda munka sani tun da |
| 6 | 'Yan Dara | 162/2 | Mu aikata gaskiya 'Yan ɗara |

III - PRAISE

IIIa: Individuals

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ado Bayero | 72/5 | Kokon bara |
| 2 | Ummara | 204/2 | Yabon Shehun Barno Umar Garbai |
| 3 | Amsa | 41/5 | Amsa ga'Wasika ta Sha'irci' |
| 4 | Na'ibi | 52/2 | Dattijo wargi babu wa-<br>sa babu Malam Na'ibi |
| 5 | Kaduna I | 228/2 | Wasika 'yar Kaduna |
| 6 | Murtala | 91/5 | Madadin Fasahar Hausa ga kuma taaziya,<br>Najeriya sannunmu Allai sanyaya,<br>Allah shi gafarta wa Shugaba Murtala. |

IIIb: Places, establishments

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Legas | 94/2 | Babban birnin Nijeriyya<br>Kasaitaccen gari Legas |
| 2 | Talbijin | 30/2 | Mun gode Hukumat Talbijin |

IIIc: Other Subjects

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Damina | 29/5 | Damina mai albarka |
| 2 | Naira | 95/2 | Naira da kwabo tsababbiya |
| 3 | Noma | 209/2 | Ba wani ci yabo yau mai girma |
| | | | Zaɓaɓɓar sana'a sai noma |
| 4 | Saniya | 52/2 | Daddaɗan daɗi Saniya |

IV - POLITICAL

IV: NEPU

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Baki 3 | 43/5 | Baki uku sharri 'Yanpisi |
| 2 | Fillori | 55/2 | Fillori 'yar Indiya |
| 3 | Inkwariya | 23/5 | Inkwariya |
| 4 | Inuwa | 51/2 | Inuwar Sawaba |
| 5 | Taka | 143/2 | Taka a yanke a raba |
| 6 | Tauraro | 29/5 | Tauraron zamani |
| 7 | 'Yar Filani | 25/5 | 'Yar Filani yawren yawre |
| 8 | Zalunci | 25/5 | A hura wuta a ga na mai rabo |
| 9 | Jiya | 56/4 | Jiya da Yau |
| 10 | Jihar Kano | 50/2 | Jihar Kano munka fi so |
| | | | A ba mu ba Kaduna ba |

IV: Others

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Afirka | 26/5 | Afirka ƙasa mai albarka |
| 2 | Maraba | 53/5 | Maraba maraba |
| 3 | Jiha 12 | 12*/5 | Marhaban da jiharmu goma |
| | | | Sha biyun da muke ginawa |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 4 | Jumhuriya I | 100/5 | (none given) |
| 5 | Jumhuriya II | 73/5 | Murnar juyowar shekar Jumhuriya ta biyu a Nijeriya |
| 6 | Kicibis A | 221/2 | Kicibis mugun gamo Soja |
| 7 | Kicibis B | 84/2 | Murna ba za ta tsufa ba |
| 8 | Maza | 364/2 | Maza kunun barkono |
| 9 | Mazaje | 249/2 | Najeriya mazaje |
| | | | Mun ci gashin kanmu nan kasar tun jiya |
| 10 | Najeriya | 71/5 | Najeriya da fawa |
| 11 | Sansan | 263/2 | Muna fata mu san nasarar kidaya |
| 12 | Soja | 95/5 | Jiki magayi |
| 13 | Tunku | 275/2 | Tunku da karau |

## V. PERSONAL

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Cuta | 67/5 | Cuta ba mutuwa ba |
| 2 | Cibiya I | 50/2 | Ba boye cibi lokacin yin wanka |
| 3 | Sani | 50/2 | Kafanga Alhaji Shehu Malam Sani |
| 4 | CIBIYA II | 121/2 | Bankwana da Umaru Yola/ |
| | | | Ba boye cibi lokacin yin wanka |
| 5 | Kaikai | 14*/2 | Kaikai a karata |

Such is the thematic panorama covered by our poetic corpus. Subsequent chapters are devoted to a detailed study of the formal and stylistic features of Aƙilu Aliyu's art which the poems display. Chapters II and III are concerned with his rhyme patterns and the extent to which they reflect his poetic individuality. Chapter II examines the traditional pattern of rhyme carried by the final syllable or syllables of the poetic line, while Chapter III is a study of tonal rhyme which appears to be characteristic and perhaps a special feature of Aƙilu's style. Chapter IV examines the metrical patterns of the poems and the extent to which they are to be related on the one hand to Arabic-type metres and, on the other, to the rhythmic patterns of Hausa Waƙa I; and also investigates the nature of the refrain (amshi) which is a phenomenon not typical of Waƙa II in general but which is a noticeably associated with a surprising proportion of Aƙilu's poetry. Chapter V is concerned essentially with aspects of style in language and deals in particular with varieties of poetic licence, with rhetorical patterns, and with imagery, with a final brief co-ordinating examination of one of Aƙilu's short masterpieces.

## Chapter II: SEGMENTAL RHYME

### 2.0. Introduction

In Chapter I brief reference was made to the fact that segmental rhyme, which in Hausa is typically borne by the last syllable of the poetic line, is one of the most important characteristic features of Hausa Waka II, distinguishing it from the situation in Waka I where it is not a poetic principle. This chapter describes the nature and significance of segmental rhyme in Akilu Aliyu by examining, first, the general rhyme situation in the corpus, paying particular attention to the running rhyme, then, secondly, the detailed rhyme patterns and features, and, finally, some other particular rhyme aspects in our corpus. At each point where relevant, reference is made to the practice of other Waka II authors with regard to segmental rhyme.

### 2.1. General rhyme situation

Even a quick survey of the general rhyme situation of the poems in our corpus will show that the great majority of them have rhyme; and although on closer examination, considerable variety is realized, this general observation is significant in indicating the great importance Akilu Aliyu as a member of the literate tradition of Hausa poets attaches to this conventional matrix of verse composition.

#### 2.1.1.

Against this general background of the dominant presence of rhyme, however, is the striking fact that in two poems (out of the total 79 in the corpus), segmental rhyme is completely absent. These two poems are the extended poem 'YAR GAGARA I (which is ''Yar Gagara' plus 'Dan Daudu' in Fasaha Akiliya) (111/2), and MARABA (50/2).

'YAR GAGARA I has no running rhyme, and being in couplets it is hardly surprising that it has no internal rhyme either. In an interview,

incidentally, the poet has confirmed the interpretation that this conspicuous disregard for an important formal feature reflects a contemptuous attitude on his part towards the subject-butt of his poem, i.e. the prostitute (and her bosom-companion the homosexual). This attitude is also reflected in the subtitle given to the poem, namely 'Kwamacala', which literally means 'loose odds and ends, scraps, morsels, rubbish etc.', all of which have obvious unfavourable connotations. This departure from the rhyme tradition has indeed invited criticism by some fellow-poets, to which Akilu has replied by composing 'YAR GAGARA II, which is a tamhisi (or the addition of 3 lines to a pre-existing couplet-poem) for 'YAR GAGARA I, resulting in a poem in quintains with internal but still without running rhyme, so that it has a rhyme-scheme aaaaa, bbbbb etc. The total implication of the tahmisi is that the poet still maintains his basic contempt for his subject by deliberately ignoring running rhyme which serves to unify and tie up the individual stanzas to the whole composition, as if by having internal rhyme only he recognizes that the loose woman has a personality but no solid worth of character.

It is worth noting here that in two earlier, well-known published Hausa poems devoted to the condemnation of the prostitute, a somewhat comparable deviation from conventional form is encountered. Hamisu Yadudu Funtuwa's 'Uwar Mugu' (Wakokin Hausa) has only internal but no running rhyme throughout its 37 quintains; and Muazu Hadeja's 'Karuwa' (in his Wakoki) is also unusual in consisting of (52) quatrains, which is a relatively rarer stanzaic form than couplets or quintains.

Besides, 'YAR GAGARA I, then, the second exception to the general rule of the presence of segmental rhyme in our corpus is the political poem MARABA (50/2). Like 'YAR GAGARA I, this poem too is in couplets, and although both poems have a refrain (see Amshi, 4.3 below), MARABA has a Hausa Waka I rhythmic metre (see 4.2 below). These two Waka II poems resemble Waka I in that they depart from the literate tradition

by dispensing altogether with segmental rhyme both at the internal and the running rhyme levels. I do not know of any other Waka II poems, by Akilu or by others, without at least a running rhyme system, except, perhaps, Gangar Wa'azu (146/2), (NNPC, 1970) whose author and circumstances of composition remain uncertain.

2.1.2.

Apart from this striking pair of poems that in this respect resemble the oral tradition of Hausa verse, the great majority of Akilu's poems are in the mainstream of the literate tradition in that they observe segmental rhyme of one type or another. Even among these, however, there are minor departures from generally established conventions. While 'YAR GAGARA I and MARABA do not have any rhyme whatever, another trio of poems must at once be distinguished from the others in that they do not have running rhyme but only internal rhyme. The first of these three atypical poems is FILLORI (55vv) which is in couplets and which is consciously based on the rhythm of the theme-song of an Indian film popular in the '50s in Northern Nigeria (see 4.2 below); while the second is NAJERIYA (64vv), which is in quintains. As it happens, although both are political in general content, the first is a NEPU morale-booster and has a refrain, while the second, which lacks a refrain, has a wider nationalist appeal. There does not appear to be a particular thematic motive for the untypical rhyme situation in these poems (aa, bb, etc., and aaaaa, bbbbb, etc.) except perhaps the poet's frequent attempts, as can be seen elsewhere, at sustained experimentation in general. The third is 'YAR GAGARA II which has been mentioned earlier.

This relative rarity of poems with only internal but no running rhyme in our corpus reflects to some extent the situation with regard to Hausa Waka II in general. Among couplet poems like Akilu's FILLORI, which has aa, bb, cc, etc. as its rhyme-scheme, the only other Hausa poems that

I have come across are five in number, with an additional sixth which is even more unusual. First, among the seven poems said to have been composed in Hausa by Shehu Usmanu ɗan Fodiyo, of which only five have been collected (see Bello Said's Sokoto Seminar Paper, in Hausa, unpublished), only one has this rhyme-scheme. This is the homily of 13 couplets whose first line is

Alhamdu lillahi Ta'ala Jalla.

Similarly, of his brother Abdullahi's many Hausa poems, only six of which have been collected, the only poem with this rhyme feature is the Wa'azi of 34 couplets which is popularly known by its first line

Mai dare dud da swahiya.

If Sultan Bello did in fact compose 'Wakar 'Yan Jihadi' (94/2), dated 1282 AH/1865 A.D., this must be the only example from his few Hausa compositions. Its first line is

Mu gode Sarkin da ka ba da shiriya.

The fourth and fifth examples are by the contemporary poet Umaru Gwandu, whose topical poem on the Harrigan Commission of 1948 is in 63 rhyming couplets; his second example is the religious warning 'Faɗakaswa... Makirkin Shaiɗan' (120/2), dated 1965.

The sixth example - R. Ahmed's 'Sutura B: Siket' (from Wakokin Hikima, 1976) - has the extraordinary feature of having the same rhyme-syllable, -ki, throughout the first and second lines of his 34 couplets so that its rhyme-scheme is aa, aa, aa, etc.

In the same anthology also comes the single example of a poem in quatrains with internal but without running rhyme. This is Adamu Jingau's 'Gargaɗi A' (13/4) whose rhyme-scheme is aaaa, bbbb, etc. In the context of these last two poems, Akilu would appear not to have experimented as far.

Among the quintains, where our corpus is represented by two poems

(NAJERIYA and 'YAR GAGARA II), three examples have been noted. There is Hamisu Yadudu Funtuwa's 'Uwar Mugu' (37/5) referred to above; there is Umaru Gwandu's elegy on 'Sarkin Gwandu Yahaya' (54/5), and, finally Abubakar Ladan's popular 'Wakar Hada Kan Afirka' (281/5), all of which have the rhyme-scheme aaaaa, bbbbb, etc., like Akilu's poems.

2.1.3.

These five Akilu Aliyu poems aside, then, all the remaining 74 poems in our corpus have running rhyme. As we turn to consider them with regard to their kind of running rhyme, we first have to single out one case from them which has what is best termed a bipartite running rhyme system, whereby the first half of the text, i.e. a proportion of the stanzas, has a different running rhyme from the second. The unique example of this is the educational poem SOMI which rhymes in -ta in the first 36 couplets and then switches to a -na rhyme in its remaining 19 couplets (v. 37-55). And to correspond to this bipartite rhyming style, the poem has two distinct one-line refrains which end in -ta and -na respectively. Thus the refrain of the first 36 verses, which rhyme in -ta, is the title-line of the poem itself:

Somin tabin almajiran makaranta;

while the amshi of the remaining portion of the poem, the 19 -na-rhyming verses , is:

Na zo da ta-ta, yanzu ga na-na-na.

This particular form of experimentation is rare not only in Akilu but also among Hausa poets generally. In Akilu the nearest example is provided by an earlier poem, KICIBIS, which seems to anticipate SOMI in the following manner. Originally intended as one long poem of 305 couplets in priase of the Federal troops during the Nigerian civil war (1967-70), KICIBIS rhymes in -ya for the first 221 verses (viz. KICIBIS A)

and then, without changing the theme, indeed without even a shift in topic emphasis and also without a change in the metre, moves with a smooth continuity to a -ba rhyme in the remaining 84 couplets, toward the end of which, however, a new second title is announced (viz. KICIBIS B) as if as an afterthought (see Table A1 p.32 for full titles). Thus in KICIBIS (A and B combined) composed before 1970, Akilu may be said to be at a transitional stage in this mode of experimentalism which by SOMI, composed in February 1975, has come to fruition.

Outside the Akilu Aliyu corpus, it may be added, only two other examples of this kind of experiment in running rhyme system have been observed, both being locally known but as yet unpublished poems by the same author, the blind contemporary poet Audu Makaho of Birnin Kebbi. The first of these two poems, the Nigerian Civil War piece 'Wakar Soja Zamanin Ojukwu', is in 47 quintains and rhymes in -za in its first 17 verses, and then in -Cai (where the consonant C is predominantly ɗ) in its remaining 30 verses. The second poem, 'Amo takkai' (153/2), a locally even more celebrated composition in which the poet cries vengeance on all who sing innuendo against his wife Amo, in fact carries the experiment still further by having a tripartite running rhyming pattern: -ka in the first 25 couplets as well as eleven times later in vv. 126-136, -kai in the middle 100 couplets (vv. 26-125), and -shi in the remaining 17 couplets (vv. 137-153).

The remaining poems of Akilu's, which still form the majority in our corpus, have each a segmental running rhyme, and, in the case of the quintains, an internal segmental rhyme in addition. These poems can be grouped into two major categories according to the kind of running rhyme-bearer they have, though further subgrouping even within these categories is possible.

2.1.4.

In the first category, the rhyme-bearer is a complete, usually polysyllabic word which may be constant, predominant, or simply frequent in the running rhyme; while the second category has a particle or a monosyllabic word as the constant, predominant, or a frequent rhyme-bearer. Two poems, for instance, - BAKI 3 and SOJA- have the words 'Yanpisi and Soja occurring regularly as their respective running rhymes. Both poems are in quintains, the one a NEPU political poem, the other a Nigerian Civil War poem; but in addition each has a refrain the last word of which corresponds to the regular constant running rhyme-bearer. Thus the one-line refrain of BAKI 3, which is also the full-title of the poem, is:

Baki uku sharri, 'Yanpisi;

while the refrain of SOJA, which is a rhyming couplet, is:

Sai ku ja ɗamarar danja,

'Yan mazan sababi, soja.

Although this pair represent an unusual class in our corpus, the practice of having a whole word as the regular running rhyme of a poem is far from unusual in Hausa poetry in general. Among the many parallel cases that could be cited include the following few examples:

(1) 'Wallahi Wallahi' (12/2) by Shehu Usmanu ɗan Fodiyo, where the word is Wallahi;

(2) 'Tabban Hakikan' (47/5), a tahmisi by Isa of the couplet poem by Nana which is itself a Hausa translation of the Fula original by their father Shehu Usmanu: the title phrase is the rhyme;

(3) 'Mu Sha Falala' (55/5) by Aliyu ɗan Sidi: the constant rhyme-word is falala;

(4) 'Birnin Kano' (26/5) by Bello Sakkwato, where Kano is the constant rhyme-word;

(5) 'Wakar Zamani' (34/2) by Aminu Kano, where zamani is the rhyme;

(6) 'Furen Kanshi' (90/2) by Mudi Sipikin, where Barhama is the regular rhyme;

(7) 'Bindigar Harbin Talla' (40/5), where talla is the constant rhyme;

(8) 'Wakar Churchill' (73/2) by Sule Daura na Agege, where Churchill is the constant running rhyme-word;

(9) 'Wakar Damina' (38/5), by Naibi Wali, where damina is the constant running rhyme-word;

(10) 'Wakar Kudi' (242/2), by Gambo Hawaja, where the title-word Kudi is the regular rhyme throughout.

Wholesale verbal repetition of a word in the running rhyme as in these cases is part of the larger question of rhythm in poetry, the nature and interpretation of which of course varies enormously from one poet to another or one poem to another, but the effect of the regular recurrence of 'Yanpisi and Soja in the running rhyme of Akilu's two poems is more successful than some of the parallel cases in Hausa poetry, where one often gets the impression of the poet's conscious striving to maintain a rhyme resulting, on the contrary, in a weak and monotonous effect. In Akilu's two poems, this is not the case. As their respective theme-words, the regular rhyme-words of BAKI 3 and SOJA have the effect of thrusting the topic to the forefront of attention, thus foregrounding it, by the simple stylistic method of sheer repetition.

2.1.5.

Closely related to total wholesale reiteration is partial repetition whereby the theme-word of a poem (or a thematically significant word in it) occurs as a dominant, or simply a frequent (rather than the constant) rhyme-word, a word which may come in the title of the particular poem, or in its refrain, or in both. Examples of this subgroup abound in the

corpus, ranging from a ratio of 50:51 of the themeword Sawaba in the poem INUWA (51/2), which has no refrain, to a rough ratio of 1:5½ of the word zamani, a themeword occurring in the title and in the refrain of the poem TAURARO (28/5). Table 2/1 illustrates the frequency and proportion of such thematically significant words which predominate, or are frequent in the running rhyme of poems from the corpus.

TABLE 2/1: Theme-word as Running Rhyme-word and its Percentage

| | POEMS | | | | | Theme-word as a percentage of total Running R words | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Reference titles of poems | Number of verses | stanzaic form 2 | 4 | 5 | Word(s) | In full title? | actual occur-rences | Percentage |
| 1 | INUWA | 51 | 2 | | | Sawaba | + | 50 | 98 |
| 2 | ADO BAYERO | 72 | | | 5 | Kano | | 68 | 94 |
| 3 | AURE | 110 | | | 5 | aure | + | 102 | 93 |
| 4 | MURTALA | 91 | | | 5 | Murtala | + | 76 | 84 |
| 5 | MAULIDI I | 41 | | | 5 | Allah | + | 33 | 81 |
| 6 | BANGO | 72 | 2 | | | Gabas | | 57 | 79 |
| 7 | MAULIDI II | 35 | | | 5 | Allah | | 27 | 77 |
| 8 | AFIRKA | 26 | | | 5 | Afirka | + | 19 | 73 |
| 9 | JAKADIYA | 103 | 2 | | | zikiri | | 71 | 69 |
| 10 | LEGAS | 94 | 2 | | | Legas | + | 65 | 69 |
| 11 | TAKA | 143 | 2 | | | raba | + | 98 | 69 |
| 12 | ADO SANUSI | 167 | 2 | | | Sanusi | | 110 | 66 |
| 13 | IBRAHIMA | 116 | 2 | | | Ibrahima/ Barhama | + | 73 | 63 |
| 14 | HAKURI | 263 | 2 | | | tare | + | 158 | 60 |
| 15 | MAULIDI III | 63 | | | 5 | Muhammadi/ Ahmadi | | 34 | 54 |
| 16 | USMAN | 29 | 2 | | | Tijani | + | 15 | 52 |
| 17 | GUZURI | 47 | | | 5 | Azare | | 23 | 49 |
| 18 | JIYA | 56 | | 4 | | baya | | 27 | 48 |
| 19 | KADUNA | 229 | 2 | | | Kaduna | + | 102 | 45 |
| 20 | 'YAN MAKARANTA | 184 | 2 | | | manya | | 82 | 45 |
| 21 | SOMI (A) | 36 | 2 | | | makaranta | + | 16 | 44 |
| 22 | BEGE | 83 | 2 | | | masoyi | + | 35 | 42 |
| 23 | DAMINA | 29 | | | 5 | albarka | + | 12 | 41 |
| 24 | NOMA | 208 | 2 | | | noma | + | 85 | 41 |
| 25 | JUMHURIYA I | 100 | | | 5 | Najeriyya/ Jumhuriyya | | 40 | 40 |
| 26 | C1 GABA | 384 | 2 | | | gaba | + | 138 | 36 |
| 27 | DANGATA | 357 | 2 | | | gata | + | 126 | 35 |
| 28 | GASKIYA | 203 | 2 | | | Nijeriya | | 71 | 35 |
| 29 | UMMARA | 204 | 2 | | | Ummara | + | 72 | 35 |
| 30 | DUNIYA | 136 | | | 5 | duniya | + | 43 | 32 |
| 31 | MAZAJE | 249 | 2 | | | Najeriya | + | 78 | 31 |
| 32 | HAUSA I | 86 | 2 | | | Hausa | + | 29 | 30 |
| 33 | ISRA'I | 104 | | | 5 | Rasulu | | 30 | 29 |
| 34 | SANSAN | 263 | 2 | | | kidaya | + | 76 | 29 |
| 35 | NA'IBI | 52 | 2 | | | Na'ibi | + | 19 | 27 |
| 36 | SANIYA | 68 | 2 | | | saniya | + | 18 | 27 |
| 37 | NAIRA | 95 | 2 | | | Najeriya | | 25 | 26 |
| 38 | 'YAN DARA | 162 | 2 | | | dara | + | 40 | 25 |
| 39 | KICIBIS (A) | 221 | 2 | | | Nijeriyya | | 48 | 22 |
| 40 | TAURARO | 28 | | | 5 | zamani | + | 5 | 18 |

As the table indicates, the proportion of the 40 poems in the corpus (over half) whose predominant running rhyme is a whole word which is thematically significant in the particular poem, is appreciable. It would appear that, apart from any other, purely aesthetic effects it may have, rhyme here, as in BAKI 3 and SOJA, is employed in such a way that attention is focused on the semantic force of the word bearing the rhyme, and especially on its relevance to the theme of the poem in question. Some of the more interesting examples, apart form those in which the dominant rhyme-word occurs either in the title or in the refrain, include the religious poem ISRA'I, in whose 104 quintains the running rhyme-word Rasulu occurs 30 times, (or once in every $3\frac{1}{2}$ stanzas on the average), Rasulu (reference-title of Muhammad as the Messenger of God) being the theme-word although it occurs neither in the original title ('Israi : Haske Mai Ganar da Basira'), nor, in this form, in the 4-line refrain of the poem itself:

Ni dai nai roko an ba ni, Wanda nake bege ya ji ni.

Allah ban fatahi da basira In yabi Annabi baban Zara.

Another such poem is JIYA (whose original title is 'Jiya da Yau'), in whose 56 quatrains the rhyme-word baya (which in the poem has homosexual associations) occurs 27 times (or 1:2), but which does not contain this rhyme-word either in its title or in its refrain; so that what is generally a NEPU political poem turns out, on deeper reflection of the frequency of the rhyme-word, to be really an anti-N.P.C. satire in its actual density of expression. (This strong anti-N.P.C. bias is enhanced by the frequent occurrence of another word karya ('lies, falsehood' etc.) 10 times in the running rhyme, coming second after baya ('behind, bottom' etc.).)

This tendency for the running rhyme to be more or less dominated by one whole word (or a few keywords) is of course not peculiar to Akilu's poetry.

Other cases (outside of Akilu) of thematic foregrounding through the use of a dominant running rhyme-word are found in Mu'azu Hadeja, where (1) giya, the title-word of his poem 'Wakar Giya' (122/2), occurs 82 times (or about two-thirds of the poem); (2) zamani, a title-word in his poem 'Ilmin Zamani' (77/2), occurs 35 times (i.e. almost half the poem); and (3) jahilci, another title-word occurs 29 times (or over one-third) in the poem 'Mu Yaki Jahilci' (80/2). In Sa'adu Zungur too, the word bidi'a, the title-word of his 'Wakar Bidi'a' (85/2), occurs 47 times, or over a half of the poem; and the theme-word gaskiya occurs 8 times, or about one-third of his poem 'Wakar 'Yan Baka' (26/5). There is also Aliyu dan Sidi's (unpublished) 'Ziyara Kano' (67/2) where the title-word Kano occurs in all but one verse, a case which is roughly similar to that in Akilu's INUWA (51/2) where sawaba, a title-word occurs in all but one verse.

In our corpus, as Table 2/1 shows, this sub-category of poems, in which the most frequent running rhyme-word is also thematically significant in the poem, consists of 40 poems, of which 13 are in quintains, 1 in quatrains, and as many as 26 in couplets, the last being a stanzaic form in which repetition of the running rhyme-word is much more telling than in the former two.

2.1.6.

In the second category, poems are characterized by the domination, complete or partial, of their running rhyme by a monosyllabic word or particle rather than by a whole polysyllabic word. Apart from, and sometimes in addition to, the immediate semantic value of a rhyme-word which helps to foreground the particular subject-matter of a poem, rhyme-words may also be employed by reason of their natural, grammatical or logical frequency of occurrence in the Hausa Language. The high predictability character in phrase-final position of the second element

in the Discontinuous Negative marker ba... ba, for instance, lends itself conveniently to rhyming due to its phonological nature — an open monosyllable — and because of its potentiality for emphatic negation without giving the effect of monotony.

That this Negative particle ba is a favourite running rhyme-word among Hausa poets generally may be illustrated by the fact that it is used as the sole constant rhyme-bearer in Aliyu ɗan Sidi's 'Waƙar Batu' (also known as 'Tahmisin Aliyu ɗan Sidi') (35/5); in Aliyu Namangi's 'Basukur' (39/2) , Shehu Alkanci's 'Wasiƙa Ta Sha'irci' (34/5), Lawal Maiturare's 'Afirka Kasa Mai Son 'Yanci' (49/5), as well as his 'Lebura' (27/4); Kabiru Magoga's 'Begen Annabi' (39/5), and Alƙalin Isa's 'Yabon Annabi (Muryar Bakandamiyar Narambaɗa)' (18/5). The particle is also used by poets in -ba-rhyming compositions as the predominant rhyme-bearer. The most outstanding example of this is Aliyu Namangi's Imfiraji (vols. 1-9) in whose 1035 quintains the Negative ba occurs as many as 964 times in the running rhyme. Other examples include Umaru Gwandu's' Komi Wuyata, Roƙi Allah Sauƙi' (51/2), where it occurs 47 times, his 'Yabon Annabi Shi Ne Wajibi' (41/5) where it occurs 32 times; in Audu B/K's 'Juyin Shago' (41/ 5) where it occurs 37 times, and Mu'azu Haɗeja's 'Karuwa' (52/4) where it occurs 37 times as the running rhyme-bearer.

In Aƙilu Aliyu's 74 poems which have a running rhyme, eleven have -ba as the rhyme-bearer (5 in quintains and 6 in couplets); and in these the overall proportion of the Negative ba to all -ba rhymes averages out at more than two-thirds (exact figures being 944 in 1404 running rhyme positions). The Negative ba is a constant rhyme-bearer in two of the eleven poems - JIHAR KANO (53 vv) and KOKO (124 vv) - both of which are in quintains. In seven of the remaining nine poems, the particle is a predominant, though not the constant, rhyme, the proportion here ranging

from 95 per cent of the total in the educational poem YARO (81/5), to 54 per cent in the longest poem in the corpus, CIGABA (384/2). At the other extreme are the two notable exceptions to the general rule of the dominance of the negative particle in -ba running rhyme poems (see Table 2/2). In TAKA (143/2), the proportion of the particle is only eight per cent, while in the whole of the 51 couplets of INUWA, there is not a single occurrence of the Negative ba.

TABLE 2/2: -ba-running rhyme poems and instances of Negative ba

| | POEMS | | | NEGATIVE BA AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Reference titles | Number of verses | stanzaic form 2 5 | Actual No. of occurrences | Theme-word? | Percentage of Neg. ba in poem | |
| 1 | JIHAR KANO | 53 | 5 | 53 | + | 100 | (all) |
| 2 | KOKO | 124 | 5 | 124 | + | 100 | (all) |
| 3 | YARO | 81 | 5 | 77 | + | 95 | |
| 4 | HAJI | 113 | 5 | 102 | + | 90 | |
| 5 | AMSA | 41 | 5 | 35 | + | 85 | |
| 6 | TUBA II | 251 | 2 | 212 | + | 85 | |
| 7 | KICIBIS (B) | 84 | 2 | 64 | | 76 | |
| 8 | TUBA I | 79 | 2 | 58 | + | 73 | |
| 9 | CI GABA | 384 | 2 | 207 | | 54 | |
| 10 | TAKA | 143 | 2 | 12 | | 8 | |
| 11 | INUWA | 51 | 2 | 0 | | 0 | (none) |

While it is formally convenient as a handy, natural, and relatively unobtrusive method of rhyming, the dominance of the Negative ba in the running rhyme of these poems would seem to serve some other important underlying thematic function. For instance, in JIHAR KANO, which is concerned to emphasize (to the then Kaduna-based Northern Region Government) the desire of the Kano people for a state of their own, the

main statement running through the poem is the positive declaration of that desire clinched by the emphatic negation of the undesirable alternative - its continued domination by the Kaduna regional government. This balancing of positive and negative already appears as a thematic structure corresponding roughly to the first and second hemistichs of the couplet which forms not only the title but also the refrain of the poem itself; and greater prominence is given to the negated alternative because it ends the couplet with the Negative ba and because this very Negative ba comes to be the sole bearer of the running rhyme throughout the poem:

Jihar Kano munka fi so

A ba, mu, ba Kaduna ba

(It's Kano State we desire to be given, not a Kaduna state!)

A different but in effect similar kind of deeper thematic function is served in the religious poem KOKO, the second poem with the Negative ba regular throughout its running rhyme. Here the negative particle would appear to reflect a tone of humility and self-abnegation which the poet feels toward the Prophet Muhammad whose praise is the sole purpose of the poem. Again in TUBA I and TUBA II, where repentance is the theme, as well as in AMSA, which is an epistolary apology to a fellow poet (Shehu Alkanci), the same general sense of self-effacement is conveyed by the preponderance of the Negative in the running rhyme. On the other hand, TAKA which contrasts with these as well as with JIHAR KANO in demanding the carving out of a Middle Belt State in Nigeria, stresses rather the idea of division and separation by the high ratio (2:3) of the word raba ('to divide, separate, share out') in the running rhyme, and the Negative ba has accordingly very low frequency (1:12). Even more strikingly, the Negative ba is completely absent in INUWA as it seems to

be irrelevant to the mood of a poem which aims not to protest or condemn rival political positions but to highlight values by which NEPU stood, a purpose it achieves by foregrounding the NEPU motto-word sawaba in 50 out of its 51 running rhyme positions.

2.1.7.

Another important rhyme-word which, like the Negative ba is monosyllabic and which occurs frequently in phrase-final position in the language, is the first person singular pronoun ni, especially its objective form. In the eight poems in our corpus which have -ni as the running rhyme, there is also a marked proportion of the relatively unexpected Disjunctive Pronoun - naturally most often coming after a preposition or as an appositional appendage to the sentence. There is considerable variation not only in the overall incidence and proportion between poems, as was the case in the Negative ba group above, but also between the disjunctive and the objective forms of the pronoun. The overall proportion of the pronominal to other, non-pronominal -ni rhymes is 195 in 387, or more than half the total, whereas the ratio of the disjunctive to the objective pronoun is less than half (exact figs. 62:133). In individual poems, the incidence of the pronoun ranges from 62 out of 67 or roughtly 93 per cent in CUTA (67/5), to 0:28, or the total absence of it in the 28 quintains of TAURARO.

TABLE 2/3: -ni-running rhyme poems and instances of the Pronominal

| | POEMS | | | Pronominal ni as a percentage of total | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Reference titles | Number of verses | stanzaic form 2 5 | actual No. of occurrence | Theme-word? | Percentage of pronominal in poem |
| 1 | CUTA | 67 | 5 | 62 | + | 93 |
| 2 | SAKO | 57 | 2 | 40 | + | 70 |
| 3 | CIBIYA I | 50 | 2 | 29 | + | 58 |
| 4 | SANI | 50 | 2 | 21 | + | 42 |
| 5 | RIJIYA | 26 | 5 | 8 | + | 31 |
| 6 | FAILA | 80 | 2 | 34 | | 30 |
| 7 | USMAN | 29 | 5 | 1 | | 3 |
| 8 | TAURARO | 28 | 5 | 0 | | 0 |

As was the case with the Negative -ba, this foregrounding of the pronominal in the running rhyme of poems would seem to have a deeper, thematic significance than its obvious, immediate semantic function. It is very likely, for instance, that the frequency of the pronominal corresponds closely to the intensity of the personal element in the poem, or that it reflects the degree of the poet's emotional involvement in the mood of the poem. This interpretation seems plausible whether with regard to the highly moving, sentimental account in CUTA of those convalescing days the poet spent in hospital with a broken leg after he had been knocked down by a political rival's car, or as in the intense religious exuberance expressed in SAKO where the poet bids farewell to a group of intending pilgrims as their plane takes off for Jedda, leaving him behind with a yearning for Islam's Holy Place and for a communion with the Holy Prophet Muhammad. In contrast to these, TAURARO projects and emphasizes group solidarity to NEPU party members and enjoins loyalty to its

leadership; hence it foregrounds the title - and refrain-word, zamani, (a NEPU Symbol for radical progress) as its predominant rhyme rather than the first person pronoun (see Table 2/3).

Outside the Akilu Aliyu corpus, although a search for -ni running rhymes does not yield as many similar results as might be expected, there are still a few that rhyme in -ni and have the pronominal frequently. In two recently published Hausa poems, Isa Hashim's 'Juyin Zamani' (38 vv), and Tijjani Tukur's 'Garkuwa' (100 vv), both of which rhyme in -ni, the pronoun ni is the predominant running rhyme. In contrast to the AA corpus, however, these poems do not have the objective form but only the disjunctive form of the pronoun. It is, perhaps, likely that 'Juyin Zamani' and 'Garkuwa' have been influenced by at least some of the poems in the AA corpus. For while in 'Garkuwa' there are traceable echoes in phrasing of Akilu's SAKO, for instance, both poems are like SAKO not only in consisting of couplets but, more important perhaps, in having the same metre (vv - v - / vv - v -, cf. Kamil dimeter in Arabic prosodic terms). Furthermore, the theme of 'Garkuwa' (lit. 'Shield') is Divine protection (for the poet's person and his immediate relations) from all evil and wrong, and the recurrence of the disjunctive in over 50% (exact figs. 52/100) of the running rhyme reflects the very personal tone and mood of the poem. In 'Juyin Zamani', where Isa Hashim mourns the degeneracy and decadence of the times (c. 1954), and goes on to bewail his own personal wrongdoings, and to ask for God's forgiveness and guidance, the proportion of the pronominal is 7 in 38 verses or 18 per cent, which is much less than the more sustained concentration on the self in Tijjani Tukur's poem, though still noticeable. Clearly, therefore, the pronominal, personal element significantly predominates in the -ni rhyme in Akilu Aliyu's poetry much more frequently and significantly than elsewhere.

2.1.8.

Thus far in relation to segmental rhyme in general, the 79 poems in our corpus are divisible into two main categories, those with, and those without segmental rhyme in any form. Those without were treated first because they are two striking exceptions without any clear known parallel either in Akilu or in Hausa Waka II generally . Among the rhyming category (of 77 poems), two main subcategories are in turn recognized. The first consists of three poems - 1 in couplets, 2 in quintains - which have internal segmental rhyme only, in other words they are exceptions to the general rule, in Akilu as well as outside, of the presence of running rhyme in Waka II, this being the second category containing 74 poems. These 74 poems with running rhyme are then further subcategorized. One poem is unique in the corpus for having a bipartite running rhyme system, and in comparison, only one other Hausa poet has been known to have this style, and he is shown to have experimented further with a tripartite system. These poems in our corpus having running rhyme are then considered on other lines. We have seen that the two poems with whole polysyllabic words which are theme-words, occurring constantly as their running rhyme have a relatively larger number of counterparts in several other Waka II authors; while in the case of the 40 poems which have such thematically significant words predominantly or frequently as their running rhyme-words, Akilu is behaving like most Hausa poets. In the case of particles or monosyllabic words as constant, or more or less frequent running rhyme-words, it is shown that for the Negative ba which predominates in the 11 -ba-rhyming poems, there are some comparable examples among other Waka II poems, though in Akilu's case this fact has been shown to have an underlying thematic function; whereas although -ni-rhyming poems are not unknown in Waka II published poems,the very interesting use of the First Person pronoun ni (both the objective and

the less expected disjunctive forms) in the 8 -ni-rhyming poems in our corpus has in most cases a profound significance in foregrounding the personal element in the poems. And in the few cases where the pronoun is not frequent, the general aim and mood in the poems in question provide an interpretive key to the fact.

In the remaining poems in our corpus, there are no such frequent or predominant thematically significant running rhyme-words, and the running rhyme is characterized simply by a recurrent syllable. It should be recalled here, however, that the syllable is the typical rhyme-bearer in Hausa Waka II, and certainly as far as internal rhyme is concerned, it is the syllable rather than the word that is important. There is in fact a far greater variety of syllables occurring as rhyme-bearers for internal than for running rhyme; and it is therefore convenient and appropriate to defer discussion of the syllable as rhyme-bearer in the running rhyme and to include it under the consideration of the type, frequency, and distribution of syllables in the detailed rhyme section below (2.2). In the meantime, this general rhyme section may be appositely closed by a complete list of all the 79 poems in our corpus classified according to the syllables, or other features, that characterize their running rhyme situations. This is presented in Table 2/4.

TABLE 2/4: Classification of corpus by running rhyme syllable etc.

| | R-syllable or situation in order of frequency | No. of poems | stanzaic form 2 | 4 | 5 | Poems by short reference titles in alphabetical order | Total No. of verses of R-class |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | -ya | 12 | 8 | 1 | 3 | Duniya(136/5),Gaskiya(203/2),Jiya (56/4),Jumhuriya I(100/5),Kicibis A (221/2),Mazaje(249/2),Naira(95/2), Nasiha(66/2),Saniya(52/2),Sansan (263/2),'Yar Filani(25/5),'Yan Makaranta(184/2) | 1,466 |
| 2 | -ba | 11 | 6 | | 5 | Amsa(41/5),Ci Gaba(384/2),Haji(113/5), Inuwa(51/2),Jihar Kano(53/5),Kicibis B (84/2),Koko(124/5),Taka(143/2),Tuba I (79/2),Tuba II(251/2),Yaro(81/5) | 1,404 |
| 3 | -ni | 8 | 4 | | 4 | Cibiya I(50/2),Cuta(67/5),Faila(80/2), Rijiya(26/5),Saƙo(57/2),Sani(50/2), Tauraro(28/5),Usman (29/5) | 387 |
| 4 | -wa | 4 | 2 | | 2 | Jiha 12*(12/5),Jumhuriya II(73/5), Kadaura(87/2),Maza(364/2) | 524* |
| 5 | -ka | 3 | 1 | | 2 | Afirka(26/5),Damina(29/5),Kafiyya(254/2) | 309 |
| 6 | -la | 3 | | | 3 | Maulidi I(41/5),Maulidi II(35/5), Murtala(91/5) | 167 |
| 7 | -na | 3 | 3 | | | Cibiya II(121/2),Talbijin(30/2),Kaduna (229/2) | 380 |
| 8 | -re | 3 | 1 | | 2 | Aure(110/5),Guzuri(47/5),Hakuri(263/2) | 420 |
| 9 | -ta | 3 | 3 | | | Dangata(357/2),Gora(101/2),Haske(208/2) | 666 |
| 10 | (-R,+r) | 3 | 1 | | 2 | Fillori(55/2),Najeriya(64/5),'Yar Gagara II*(84/5) | 119* |
| 11 | (-R,-r) | 2 | 2 | | | 'Yar Gagara I(111/2),Maraba(50/2) | 161 |
| 12 | -CVs | 2 | 2 | | | Bango (72/2),Legas(94/2) | 166 |
| 13 | -ma | 2 | 2 | | | Ibrahima(116/2),Noma(208/2) | 324 |
| 14 | -ra | 2 | 2 | | | Ummara(204/2),'Yan Dara(161/2) | 365 |
| 15 | -ri | 2 | 1 | | 1 | Inkwariya(23/5),Jakadiya(103/2) | 126 |
| 16 | -sa | 2 | 1 | | 1 | Hausa I(86/2),Hausa II(37/5) | 123 |
| 17 | -si | 2 | 1 | | 1 | Baƙi 3(43/5),Ado Sanusi(167/2) | 210 |
| 18 | (2R):-ta/-na | 1 | 1 | | | Somi | 55 |
| 19 | -bi | 1 | 1 | | | Na'ibi | 52 |
| 20 | -ci | 1 | | | 1 | Zalunci | 25 |

TABLE 2/4: Classification of corpus by running rhyme syllable etc.

(Continued)

| | R-syllable or situation in order of frequency | No. of poems | stanzaic form 2 | 4 | 5 | Poems by short reference titles in alphabetical order | Total No. of verses of R-class |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 21 | -da | 1 | | | 1 | Al'adu | 63 |
| 22 | -di | 1 | | | 1 | Maulidi III | 63 |
| 23 | -ja | 1 | | | 1 | Soja | 95 |
| 24 | -ku | 1 | 1 | | | Tunku | 275 |
| 25 | -ka | 1 | 1 | | | Kaikayi*(14/2) | |
| 26 | -le | 1 | 1 | | | Kalubale | 48 |
| 27 | -lu | 1 | | | 1 | Isra'i | 104 |
| 28 | -no | 1 | | | 1 | Ado Bayero | 72 |
| 29 | -yi | 1 | 1 | | | Bege | 83 |
| totals | | 79 | 46 | 1 | 32 | | |

*represent fragments

## 2.2 Detailed rhyme patterns and features

As we turn to the details of rhyme, we shall examine syllables as internal rhyme-bearers, their morphology and frequency/rarity patterns, and correlate these with those of the running rhyme-syllables; we shall then consider the phonology involved in the variation within individual rhyme-schemes, and lastly illustrate the feature of repetition/variation with regard to the internal rhyme words in the corpus as a whole. In the process, attention will again be directed to the extent to which Akilu Aliyu conforms to the rhyme tradition of Hausa Waka II, or departs from it and displays originality in this selection and handling of rhyme.

First, it will be observed that there is a great deal of variety in the type of rhymebearers that occur as the internal rhyme. Apart from the Hausa syllable, the typical rhyme-bearer, there are other types of rhyme-bearers which differ from it more or less. The Hausa syllable itself is generally represented by CV(C), though strictly four syllable structures are to be distinguished: CV, $C\bar{V}$, $CV_1V_2$, and CVC. From the point of view of rhyme, however, the distinction between CV (with a short vowel) and $C\bar{V}$ (with a long vowel) can be ignored and these can be treated as one and the same syllable CV, since metrically (see 4.1 below) the distinction between long and short vowels in line-final position is generally immaterial and irrelevant. For the following discussion, therefore, the Hausa syllable is regarded as having three structural shapes, CV, $CV_1V_2$, and CVC. However, because CV is the most common in the language as well as the rhyme-bearer in Waka II generally, this is considered first, separately from $CV_1V_2$/CVC, which are far less common and considered together under the second subsection.

2.2.1. CV Syllables as rhyme-bearers

(i) Internal rhyme syllables

A glance at Table 2/5 illustrates the large variety of actual consonant + vowel combinations (i.e. CV) that do occur as internal rhyme-bearers in our corpus, covering not only most of those combinations which conform to the phonological and morphophonological systems of Hausa, but many others that are anomalous or extremely rare.

TABLE 2/5: CV as internal rhyme-bearers

| Consonant | Vowels | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | a | e | i | o | u | |
| ʔ | a | | i | | | 2 |
| b | a | e | i | o | u | 5 |
| ɓ | a | e | | | | 2 |
| c | | e | i | | | 2 |
| d | a | | i | | u | 3 |
| ɗ | a | e | i | o | u | 5 |
| f | a | e | i | | u | 4 |
| g | a | e | i | o | u | 5 |
| h | a | | i | | u | 3 |
| j | a | e | i | o | | 4 |
| k | a | e | i | o | u | 5 |
| ƙ | a | e | i | o | u | 5 |
| l | a | e | i | o | u | 5 |
| m | a | e | i | | u | 4 |
| n | a | e | i | o | u | 5 |
| r | a | e | i | o | u | 5 |
| s | a | | i | o | u | 4 |
| sh | | e | i | | | 2 |
| t | a | | i | o | u | 4 |
| ts | a | e | i | | | 3 |
| w | a | | | o | | 2 |
| y | a | e | i | o | u | 5 |
| z | a | | | o | u | 3 |
| | 21 | 16 | 20 | 14 | 16 = | 87 |

In glancing briefly at the distribution of CV rhymesyllables in this Table (2/5), and before examining the details of their types and frequencies, it should be emphasized that for this table as well as for the subsequent details in this section it is the internal rhymesyllables that are considered. This means that it is not the whole corpus of 79 poems that have been analyzed, since obviously not all have internal rhyme. As a matter of fact, of the 47 poems in couplets in the corpus, only one, FILLORI (which alone has internal rhyme) is included. It is again to be pointed out that of the 31 poems in quintains in the corpus, the details of internal rhyme for two poems (YAR GAGARA II and MURTALA), which were collected after the main analysis has been carried out are not entered though references to these are made where relevant. The result is that these tables and lists for internal rhyme-syllables, and the discussions based on them, refer to a total of 31 poems from our corpus, one in couplets, one in quatrains and 29 in quintains. Another important point to be borne in mind here is that it is the basic internal rhyme-syllables that are considered, and the rhyme variants, of which there are quite a few, have not been taken into account (though see Variations 2.2.3 below).

In terms of frequency of occurrence in the relevant corpus as a whole, these internal rhyme-syllables fall into three groups: those with very high frequencies (above 30); those with middle frequency range (between 20 and 30); and those with very low frequencies (below 20). (The frequencies for all internal rhyme-syllables are given in Table 2/7 below, where the figures for the first two groups are underlined).

The most frequent rhyme-syllables in our corpus, which also tend to occur with great frequency in other Waka II texts, are largely syllables facilitated by the nature of common Hausa monosyllables and/or suffixes. There are 18 of such syllables with frequencies above 30:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| -ba | (113½) | -na | (73) | -shi | (56) |
| -mu | (113½) | -ma | (70) | -ki | (52) |
| -ta | (110) | -ni | (67½) | -sa | (45) |
| -ya | (107) | -ne | (65½) | -ce | (41) |
| -ka | (97) | -ra | (65) | -ci | (39) |
| -wa | (88½) | -ri | (56) | -ke | (36) |

The common monosyllabic words and suffixes which facilitate rhymes in this first group include:

(a) the particles: the Neg ba; also dative ma/ma; the modal particle ma;

(b) the copula: ne/ce;

(c) pronouns - disjunctive, objective and possessive:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| mu | mu | -mu |
| (ita) | ta | -ta |
| (kai) | ka | -ka |
| ni | ni | -na |
| shi | shi | -sa |
| ke | ki | -ki |

(d) the plural suffixes in -wa: -awa & -uwa;

(e) Verbal noun: the regular suffix -wa and the alternative suffix -iya;

(f) Feminine suffix: -iya;

In addition to the above, some of the syllables also occur frequently in other situations, e.g.

-ba, -ma, -mu in Arabic words with the common Arabic noun suffixes -u, -a, and -i;

-ta and -ci in the common noun and verb derivative suffixes of verbs and abstract nouns;

-ka, -na, -ki, -ni in the common plural forms such as -uka, -una, -aki, -anni;

Some, such as -ka and -sa also occur as the final syllable of common verbs and verbal nouns, and the same applies to -ra and -ri, which are also found in Arabic words. Others, such as -ce and -ke, occur again as endings of grade four verbs and stative adverbs, while -ke in addition occurs as the marker of the Relative Continuous Tense.

Thus, the high frequency of rhyme-syllables in this group illustrates that Akilu's choice and treatment of rhyme is to some extent similar to the majority of other Hausa poets who employ for rhyming purposes syllables that are common in word-final position in Hausa.

The second group of rhyming syllables, which to some extent overlap in type with the first, consists of only four syllables whose frequency ranges between 20 and 30:

-su (27): occurs mainly as pronoun (disjunctive, objective and possessive), and some nouns;

-ye (27): occurs in grade 4 verbs, in nouns, in strong verbal nouns, and some plural endings (esp. -aye);

-yi (25): occurs as the common verb yi, its verbal noun ŷi, and nouns of agent with -i affix (e.g. masoyi);

-da (24): occurs as the multiple-purpose particle da, and in Arabic words.

The third group, which has the lowest frequencies (below 20), contains 64 distinct rhyme-syllables, over $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as many as those with the highest frequencies:

TABLE 2/6: CV rhymes with lowest frequencies

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| -ku | (18) | -nu | (8) | -ga | (5) | -yu | (4) | -ʃo | (2) | -gu | (1) |
| -li | (16) | -di | (7) | -go | (5) | -ʔi | (3) | -gi | (2) | -ha | (1) |
| -re | (16) | -fi | (7) | -je | (5) | -bo | (3) | -jo | (2) | -hu | (1) |
| -ʤi | (15) | -ge | (7) | -ke | (5) | -ʤe | (3) | -ku | (2) | -ko | (1) |
| -du | (13) | -zo | (6½) | -ki | (5) | -fu | (3) | -si | (2) | -me | (1) |
| -ji | (13) | -bi | (6) | -le | (5) | -hi | (3) | -ti | (2) | -no | (1) |
| -ʔa | (12) | -ja | (6) | -ru | (5) | -lo | (3) | -tsi | (2) | -to | (1) |
| -ka | (10) | -ro | (6) | -ko | (4) | -she | (3) | -zu | (1½) | -yo | (1) |
| -mi | (10) | -tu | (6) | -lu | (4) | -tsa | (3) | -ʧe | (1) | -ʧa | (½) |
| -ʤa | (9) | -tse | (6) | -so | (4) | -za | (3) | -ʤu | (1) | | |
| -fa | (8) | -bu | (5) | -wo | (4) | -be | (2) | -fe | (1) | | |

The membership of -ku (18) in this third group, and that of -su (27) in the intermediate second group are a clear case of overlapping since they each occur as possessive, objective and as disjunctive pronouns, very much like the other pronominal forms which belong to the first group with the highest frequencies. One might from this be justified in drawing the line between the 2 groups at 18 rather than 20, thus including -ku in the intermediate group. Alternatively, one might simply reduce the whole three groups into two, doing away with the middle group and draw the line at 18 so that those with 18 and above will form the first group and those below 18 the second. Since, however, any division would necessarily be completely arbitrary, it has been found more convenient to recognize two major groups, the very high and the very low, with a smaller intermediate third group connecting them. With regard to the pronouns and their frequencies, it is possible that the difference between -ku on the one hand and -mu on the other is attributable to the proposition that the

poet is less liable to speak of you (plural), i.e. -ku (which occurs 18 times) than of us, i.e. -mu (which occurs 113½ times); or it may be attributable to -ku being rarer Arabic and Hausa suffixes than the other syllables which also occur as pronouns. This, however, is a point that concerns the matter of address or reference patterns, which is not considered in this study.

At this point reference may be made to Table 2/7 showing the total number of occurrences of each syllable as internal rhymes in the 31 poems (out of the 33 with internal rhyme). The underlined figures are for the two higher groups.

TABLE 2/7: total distribution and frequencies of CV as internal rhyme

| | VOWELS | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CONSONANTS | a | e | i | o | u |
| ʔ | 12 | | 3 | | |
| b | 113½ | 2 | 6 | 3 | 5 |
| ɓ | ½ | 1 | | | |
| c | | 41 | 39 | | |
| d | 24 | | 7 | | 13 |
| ɗ | 9 | 3 | 15 | 2 | 1 |
| f | 8 | 1 | 7 | | 3 |
| g | 5 | 7 | 2 | 5 | 1 |
| h | 1 | | 3 | | 1 |
| j | 6 | 5 | 13 | 2 | |
| k | 97 | 36 | 52 | 4 | 18 |
| ƙ | 10 | 5 | 5 | 1 | 2 |
| l | 48 | 5 | 16 | 3 | 4 |
| m | 70 | 1 | 10 | | 113½ |
| n | 73 | 65½ | 67½ | 1 | 8 |
| r | 65 | 16 | 56 | 6 | 5 |
| s | 45 | | 2 | 4 | 27 |
| sh | | 3 | 56 | | |
| t | 110 | | 2 | 1 | 6 |
| ts | 3 | 6 | 2 | | |
| w | 88½ | | | 4 | |
| y | 107 | 27 | 25 | 1 | 4 |
| z | 3 | | | 6½ | 1½ |

Table 2/7 shows which internal rhyme-syllables have the highest frequencies (i.e. those underlined as belonging to the first and second groups), which have been discussed; as well as those syllables which do not occur at all as internal rhyme-syllables in the corpus (i.e. those represented by the blank columns). It also shows the strikingly large third group of very rare rhyme-syllables which occur as internal rhymes in the corpus (i.e. those not underlined).

The conspicuous rarity of the rhymes in this third group is due partly to the fact that the syllables which bear them are in most cases rare in the Hausa language itself, and the poet's originality here lies in the use he makes of a large number of such syllables as his internal rhymes, exploiting the phonological and morphophonological structure of verbs and, to a lesser extent, of nouns. Some of these rare syllables may occur with some measure of frequency in word-initial or word-medial positions, situations where the achievement of rhyme - by definition here a line-final feature - would normally entail the breaking up of the word. Although such word-division does occur in some poems (see 5.1.4. below), it is so rare as to be negligible for the present purpose.

Detailed investigation into the linguistic factors which determine the rarity of these syllables as word-final syllables in Hausa, factors which in turn would account for their low frequency as rhymes in our corpus, is outside the scope of this thesis. But it is worth commenting that the rarity or non-occurrence of some syllables is related to the palatalisation pattern of Hausa, which may be tabulated as follows:

| + a, o, u | | + e, i |
|---|---|---|
| s | ⟶ | sh |
| t | ⟶ | c |
| z/d | ⟶ | j |
| and less often w | ⟶ | y |

Thus root-final -s occurs before -a, -o, -u (e.g. fas- 'break': fasa, faso, fasu), but changes to sh before -e and -i (e.g. fashe, fashi). On this principle, one would expect to find s, t, z/d (and w) followed, by -a,-o, -u, but not by -e or -i, while the reverse would be true of sh, c and j. This is in fact reflected in the complete absence of rhymes in se, te, de, we and ze; in zi, we and wi, in sha, sho and shu, in ca[1], co and cu, and in ju; and in the rarity of rhymes in si, ti, and di; ja and jo, and yo and yu.

The absence of 'ya except as a variant (see 2.2.3 below) is due to the fact that 'y is almost certainly not an indigenous phoneme in Hausa but the result of the coalescence of ɗ and y; compare the standard 'ya, 'yanci, 'yanta with the Sokoto words ɗiya, ɗiyauci, ɗiyanta. Moreover, only in the two words 'ya 'daughter' and 'ya'ya 'children' does the syllable 'ya end a word.

Some other comments on particular syllables are also worth making. Reading Table 2/7 vertically (i.e. the vowel columns), one notices certain expected patterns. Thus, (using C to represent any consonant) Ca and Ci together are more frequent that Ce and Co, -e and -o being relatively rare in word-final position as compared with -a, and -i. Cu, which has an unexpectedly high proportion, can be explained by reference to the very common occurrence of grade 6 verbs, together with Arabic words (in the nominative case). Reading horizontally, and ignoring the syllables in the higher groups, one also notices the relative rarity of syllables with a glottal consonant as the rhyme. The rare occurrence of ɓV, ɗV, kV, and

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1 In fact, in 'YAR GAGARA II, there is one quintain (v. 75) which internally rhymes in -ca: the five rhyme words are cinca (cf. cinta), ca (ideophone), Kurcaca, caca, and muca.

tsV as rhyme-syllables is significant in reflecting the fact that in Hausa these are extremely rare word-final syllables. These glottal consonants do not occur in suffixes or in particles or pronouns, all of which would have a high frequency potential, but only with any frequency in the roots of verbs and nouns. Considering the actual figures for these - ɓV (1½), ɗV (30), ƙV (23), tsV (11) - the difference between ɓV, which has the lowest occurrence in the group, and ɗV, which has the highest, is noteworthy; in fact, however, the relative frequency of these four glottal consonants as rhyme-syllables in the corpus would appear to correspond roughly to their relative frequency in the Hausa language as a whole.

Finally, the occasional occurrence as rhyme-bearers of syllables rare in Hausa can be explained by their use in words borrowed from other languages in which they are not rare; and Alkilu Aliyu's ingenuity here lies in exploiting the syllable structure of other languages to achieve unusual rhymes. Certain consonant-vowel combinations for instance, such as ?V, hV, Ci and Cu, are largely instanced by Arabic words:

?V: -ʔa (12); ʔi (3), e.g. shari'a, ina'i

hV: -ha (1); -hi (3); hu (1), e.g. sahha, sahi, Allahu

Ci: Some -bi (6), -di (7), some -si (2) e.g. Muhazzabi, Muhammadi, Sanusi

Cu: Some -bu (5), some -fu (3), - ƙu (2), -lu, some -nu, some -yu e.g. aibu, haufu, mushtaƙu, Rasulu, imanu, hayyu

Other loans are from English, Fula or Yoruba:

English: some -fu/pu, some -ja (6), some -jo (2), some -si (2) some -ti (2) e.g. NEPU, soja, banjo, 'Yanpisi (N.P.C.), rijimanti

Fula: -ɗo (2),-jo (2) e.g. Kaɗo, darkejo

Yoruba: some -jo (2), some -lo (3) e.g. ajo, kalo.

Thus, from the foregoing account of the CV syllable as internal rhyme-bearer in 31 relevant poems of our corpus, emerges a picture of remarkable variety. Not only are there as many as 87 distinct CV rhymes, with frequencies ranging from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $113\frac{1}{2}$, it also becomes clear that while he makes abundant use of some of the commonest Hausa rhyme-syllables - like many other Hausa poets - Akilu Aliyu also selects a surprisingly large number (64) of syllables which many others do not employ because they are rare and so difficult to handle as rhyme-bearers. It has also been shown that the poet's skill and ingenuity lies in his exploitation of the phonological and morphological resources of the Hausa language as well as those of other languages (such as Arabic, English, Fula and Yoruba).

(ii) Internal and running CV rhymes

The above description of CV syllables as internal rhyme-bearers must be followed by a discussion of their frequency/rarity patterns with reference to those of them that have parallel occurrence in the running rhyme of poems. In this connection, it is to be recalled that 29 classes have been established for the 79 poems in the corpus according to their running rhyme situation (see Table 2/4 above). Also, putting aside six poems (the pair without any running or internal rhyme, the two with only internal but no running rhyme, and the single poem with a bipartite running rhyme system), 73 poems in the corpus are shown to have a running rhyme. Now, taking out two other poems with CVC as their running rhyme (i.e. BANGO and LEGAS) we are left with 71 poems with a CV running rhyme which fall into 25 groups according to their running rhyme-syllable. These 25 running rhyme-syllables, together with the number of poems that instance them, are worth reproducing here for the sake of comparison:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| -ya | (12) | -ka | (3) | -ma | (2) | -bi | (1) |
| -ba | (11) | -la | " | -ra | " | -ci | " |
| -ni | (8) | -na | " | -ri | " | -di | " |
| -wa | (4) | -re | " | -sa | " | -ja | " |
| | | -ta | " | -si | " | -ku | " |
| | | | | | | -ka | " |
| | | | | | | -le | " |
| | | | | | | -lu | " |
| | | | | | | -no | " |
| | | | | | | -yi | " |

Compared to these figures for the running rhyme, it is to be noted that there are 87 distinct CV rhyme-syllables in the internal rhyme (see Table 2/7 above). These 87 internal rhyme-syllables are contained in 31 poems, which consist of 29 in quintains, 1 in quatrains, and 1 in rhyming couplets.

The first parallel to be drawn between the running rhyme-syllables and the internal is that the most frequent of the running rhyme-syllables (i.e. those having two or more poems in their group) are also generally the most frequent internally (occurring more than 20 times each). Similarly the eleven least frequent running rhyme-syllables (each of which is instanced in only one poem) are all present in the internal rhyme, again with the correspondingly low frequency range of the rare rhyme-syllables in the third group. Thus the generally high frequency pattern of internal rhyme-syllables correlates with the high frequency pattern of running rhyme-syllables, and the very low frequency pattern of internal rhyme-syllables corresponds to the very low frequency pattern of syllables in the running rhyme. For instance, the low occurrence - 5 times - of -le as an internal rhyme corresponds to the

fact that only one poem, KALUBALE, out of 79 in the corpus has -le as the running rhyme. Thus also, -lu occurs internally in only 4 stanzas and, correspondingly, only once as a running rhyme in the corpus, namely in ISRA'I, where, moreover, the one word Rasulu (the theme-word) occurs 30 times in its 104 quintains. Similarly, the single stanza with -bi as an internal rhyme-syllable matches the fact that the poem NA'IBI, where the titleword (Na'ibi) occurs in 19 out of the total 52 couplets, is the single poem in the corpus that has -bi as its running rhyme-syllable. ADO BAYERO, the only poem with -no as the running rhyme and in whose 72 quintains the themeword Kano occurs 68 times, is comparable with the 8-stanza instances of -no as an internal rhyme-syllable. Even the fragment KAIKAI, which alone in the corpus rhymes in -ka, reflects the parallel case of only 5 stanzas rhyming internally in -ka. Finally, the internal rhyme-syllable -ja occurs in only 6 stanzas and this low figure correlates with the single instance in the corpus of a -ja-rhyming poem, SOJA, which, furthermore, has (the themeword) soja occurring regularly as the running rhymeword throughout its 95 quintains.

In the parallel case of rhyme-syllables with high frequency patterns, it is exceptional that -mu, one of the highest two internal rhyme-syllables, does not occur at all as a running rhyme-syllable in the corpus. However, the other equally high internal rhyme-syllable -ba (113½ instances) is the second largest among the running rhyme-syllables, being the rhyme of 11 poems in the corpus. Similarly, -ya, which is the third highest as an internal rhyme class (with 107 instances) is, at the running rhyme level, the highest (containing 12 poems). In the case of -ta, which has 100 internal rhyme instances (and is therefore the second after -ba/mu with 113½), but which is the running rhyme-syllable of only 3 poems in the corpus, it may be added that these three poems together have a total of 666 stanzas, a number which is third after the stanza totals for -ya

(1,466 stanzas in 12 poems), and -ba (1,404 stanzas in 11 poems).

Before turning to rhyme-syllables other than CV, it may be concluded briefly here that from the large variety of CV rhyme-syllables described above, there are, on the one hand, a great many rhymes occurring with a frequency in our corpus comparable with that of most other Hausa poems, being rhymes facilitated by the nature of common Hausa suffixes or common monosyllabic words; and, on the other, a strikingly large number of very rare rhyme-syllables which are noticeably absent in much other Hausa poetry, being rare word-final Hausa syllables.

### 2.2.2. $CV_1V_2$/CVC rhymes

With regard to the other, less common forms of the Hausa syllable, $CV_1V_2$ and CVC, the actual instances of the rhyme-syllables are, as one might expect, in view of the relative rarity of this type of word-ending in the language, much rarer than those of CV rhymes. They are rarer in the total number of the actual syllable types as well as in their general frequency range. A feature of some of these is that they pose the problem of interpretation of what in effect constitutes the actual rhyme; but this is a matter which is discussed better under the section below on the variations within individual rhyme schemes (2.2.3). First, virtually all the $CV_1V_2$ rhyme-syllables analyzed in the corpus consist of a consonant (C) and the diphthong -ai ($V_1V_2$), and their actual combinations and occurrences are:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| -bai | (1) | -nai | (5) |
| -dai | (2) | -rai | (3) |
| -kai | (9) | -sai | (4) |
| -mai | (1) | -tai | (1) |

In addition, Cai, where the consonant varies but the diphthong does not,

occurs 7 times. (This would make -ai (or $V_1V_2$) the rhyme-bearer, but see Variations 2.2.3 below). It is also to be noted that of the 3 instances of -rai, two are preceded by ga-, thus making garai, a disyllabic word, the rhyme (but see 2.2.4 below). In contrast, the diphthong -au occurs only once in the analyzed corpus, as -kau in FILLORI, v. 23, thus:

Babu fushi babu fada tambayi Kokau
Yai magana ran da cikowa ta yi makau[2].

In the case of the CVC rhyme-syllables, there are three subgroups to be noted. In the first, there are two actual cases, -nan (39) and -wul (1). -nan is outstanding for its frequent occurrence as compared with the other $CV_1V_2$/CVC syllables which have generally very low frequency (below 10) in the corpus as well as among Hausa poems generally; and -wul is striking for its very daring introduction, being a CVC structure foreign to Hausa the employment of which in rhyme without repetition is a mark of extraordinary skill (see repetition of rhyme-words 2.2.4 below). The second subgroup consists of Can (6), Car (1) and Cin (3), in which the initial C varies; and the third subgroup comprises CVb (1), CVn (4) and CVs (3), in which both the initial C and the V vary.

The $CV_1V_2$ rhyme-syllables consist of monosyllabic words and particles such as the disjunctive pronoun (kai), the modal particle (dai) and the conjunction (sai), as well as suffixes of the noun plural form ending in -ai, and the Western dialect dative and possessive forms of the 3rd person masc. singular (ending in -mai, -nai/-tai). To some extent, therefore, these -Cai syllables would seem to have rather greater potentiality of occurrence as rhyme-syllables than they actually have in the corpus, though their proportion in Akilu Aliyu's poems is in fact larger than in many other Hausa poems.

- - - -

As regards the CVC Syllables, these consist of suffixes of the referential (CVn/Car, including the substandard Cas), a few ideophones (e.g. mankas, dandas, cunkus, dab) some Arabic proper names (e.g. Dalib, Galib) as well as the common Hausa word nan 'here'; and the difference in frequency of these CVC rhymes between our corpus and much other Hausa poetry is even more noticeable. The rarity of $CV_1V_2$/CVC as rhyme-syllables may also be appreciated from the observation that while $CV_1V_2$ does not occur at all throughout the corpus as a running rhyme, CVC, which does so occur, is found in two poems, BANGO and LEGAS, where CVs is the rhyme. This relatively high proportion of CVs as compared to the low figure (3) of CVs as an internal rhyme-syllable, might perhaps suggest that CVs is a fairly handy rhyme-syllable which accidentally is not frequent in the internal rhyme. It is significant, however, that in BANGO (72/2), the rhyme-syllable (ga-)-bas occurs 57 times, and in LEGAS (94/2), the rhyme-syllable (Le-)-gas occurs 65 times. But the fact in the former there are 8 other -Cas rhymesyllables (including one other word in -bas), and that in the latter there are 11 other distinct -CVs syllables as running rhymes, point to the poet's ingenuity in achieving some degree of variation in the particularly difficult CVs rhyme.

It may thus be concluded that with the noticeable exception of the rarity of the diphthong -au, there is a surprisingly large proportion of $CV_1V_2$/CVC syllable structures as rhyme-bearers. It has been observed that neither this Hausa diphthong (which seems very much less common as a rhyme-word in general) nor the more common -ai are used as running rhyme-bearers; but the occurrence of -ai in the internal rhyme is remarkable. In the case of CVC, which occurs both as a running and an internal rhyme-bearer, the variety and the proportion have been observed to be greater than in many other Hausa poems; the use of CVs at both levels being particularly notable. Thus, in the case of $CV_1V_2$/CVC rhymes as well as

in the case of CV discussed earlier, the general picture from the corpus is one of extraordinary variety, which attests to Aƙilu's ingenuity in the selection and treatment of segmental rhyme.

2.2.3. Rhyme–syllable variation

Yet another interesting aspect of segmental rhyme in Aƙilu Aliyu is the degree and type of variations that occur within individual rhyme-schemes, so that while there is in most cases one basic rhyming syllable, the poet admits a slightly different syllable into the rhyming pattern. In all cases, one of the syllable's constituent elements remains constant, the variation being in one (or sometimes two) of the other elements. In the case of CV syllables, the variations can be categorized according to whether the rhyming syllables have the same consonant but different vowels (C<u>V</u>), or the same vowel but differ in their consonants (<u>C</u>V). In the case of CVC syllables, the final consonant (with one exception) remains constant, while the initial consonant and/or the vowel varies (<u>C</u>V<u>C</u>). In other cases, the variations may consist of, the addition of an extra element or elements to a basic CV syllable (<u>CV</u>+C), or, more rarely, the omission from a CVC syllable of the third element (<u>CV</u>-C).

The variations are, as might be expected, virtually all related to the phonology of Hausa. In the first category, (C<u>V</u>), the variation may consist of vowels which share a common phonological feature - frontness/backness or closeness/openness - but differ in some other respects; in the second category, (<u>C</u>V), the varying consonants may have the same point of articulation but differ in their manner of articulation, or vice-versa; or, as in some cases, the consonants involved may even vary in both point and manner of articulation.

(i) CV rhyme, where the Vowel varies

In the first category, CV, the different vowels which are admitted into the same rhyme pattern fall into five pairs. The first consists of the pair -e/-i, which are both front vowels though -e is more open. Thus zali rhymes with kyalle and tambele in TAURARO (v. 14), and gane is rhymed with bayani, zamani, and duhuni in USMANIYYA (v. 11); similarly, rami and tsauni are rhymed respectively with dulme, zarme and ɗaɗɗarme in SOJA (v. 25), and Wane and danne in 'YAR FILANI (v. 8) - though in fact the Sokoto dialect forms for these words (rame and tsaune) would perfect the rhyme. The second variant pair of vowels is -o/-u, which are both back vowels though -o is more open. Thus musu is rhymed with kwankwaso, kaso and so in ADO BAYERO (v. 42); sakamako is admitted twice into the basic running rhyme -ku of TUNKU (v. 45, v. 207); and Manzo and kwazo rhyme with ɗazu and yanzu in JUMHURIYA II (v. 37). The third vowel pair contains the commonly close vowels -i and -u, which differ on their frontness/backness axis. Although the phonological affinity of -i/-u is evident in root vowel position in a good number of common words in the Hausa language (e.g. biki/buki, fiska/fuska), this does not apply to word-final position; and ADO SANUSI, in admitting -su in a basic -si running rhyme, is the only example in the corpus where this -i/-u relationship tends to be exploited. It should be added that while this rhyme-syllable -si (which incidentally is a syllable common in Arabic but foreign to Hausa) forms the basic running rhyme, it occurs only three times as an internal rhyme in this poem (vv. 5, 166, 167).

In the fourth pair of varying vowels, -o is admitted into an -a rhyme. Again here, there is only one place in the poems where the two non-front vowels, which differ in that -a is more central and more open while -o is more back and round, are rhymed together; the example being the occurrence of karo in the basic running rhyme -ra in UMMARA (v. 30). With

regard to the last pair of vowels in this first category, -e/-ai, it is worth recalling that although most relevant words in Hausa have either -e or -ai without the possibility of interchangeability, there are some words (such as rena/raina, kome/komai, me/mai) in which the two are interchangeable dialectally or idiolectally. The poet makes use of this fact by admitting -ai into an -e rhyme three times in GUZURI, where karai (vv. 26, 40) and hadarai (v. 41) are rhymed with the basic running rhyme -re.

(ii) CV rhyme where the Consonant varies

In the second category, CV, where the vowel remains constant and the consonant varies, the first subcategory comprises those consonants which have the same point, but different manner of articulation. This subcategory is further subdivided into three subclasses. The first subclass consists of three pairs of non-glottal/glottalized consonants - b/ɓ, k/ƙ, y/'y - which are respectively bilabial, velar, and palatal consonant pairs. In SOJA (v. 58), for example, gaba and kwaba are rhymed with saba and jabba. Thus also, KOKO (v. 78) rhymes razaka and maka with sadaka and nafaka (though, it may be noted, the last two are Arabic loans which have the Arabic /q/, a consonant which typically becomes ƙ in Hausa). Similarly in AL'ADU (v. 29), liƙi is admitted into rhyme with maki, aiki and kirki; while 'y which occurs seven times in the same word 'ya'ya in SANSAN, is rhymed with the basic running rhyme -ya of the poem. In the second subclass, there are two pairs of consonants, d/z and c/sh, both of which differ on the plosive/fricative axis though the first pair are both alveolar and voiced and the second both postalveolar and voiceless. Examples for these are to be found in JUMHURIYA II (v. 64), where Ado rhymes with zo and ƙwazo; and in MAULIDI I (v. 12) where yaushe is rhymed with dace, kauce and nace.

The last subclass consists of the combination of two postalveolar

consonants, l rhyming with r - l being a lateral consonant, while in Hausa there are in fact two distinct consonants both represented by r in the Standard orthography as used here. One is a rolled consonant, the other a 'flapped' or one-tap consonant. (The latter occurs very frequently in initial and intervocalic position in native Hausa words, the former regularly in such positions in borrowed words and in syllable-final and pre-consonantal position in many words including native Hausa words especially those where the r is derivative; but they are not in complementary distribution, the rolled r occurring intervocallically and the flapped r in pre-consonantal position in some native Hausa words). As regards rhyme in Akilu Aliyu's poems, this distinction appears not to be taken into account. For instance, in ADO BAYERO, of the thirteen verses with an internal rhyme in rV, only five have a uniform rhyme involving flapped r only, while the remaining eight verses contain a mixture of flapped and rolled r. There are two cases of the combination of l and r in the corpus. One is in the internal rhyme of DUNIYA (v. 98) where tausila is rhymed with shawara, kaddara and Lahira, all Arabic loans (like tausila) with rolled r. The second is in the running rhyme of HAKURI where kyale (in verse 92) occurs as a variant of the regular -re rhyme (involving also two words bare and bore with rolled r while all the rest have a flapped r). We may note that one finds examples of dialectal variation between l and r, e.g. Sokoto galma against Kano garma (with rolled r), falke against farke (with rolled r); but further investigation would be needed to determine whether such variation is found only where the r is rolled. As far as the present topic is concerned, we can only say that the rolled/flapped distinction seems to be ignored for rhyming purposes, and l is admitted in these two cases as a rhyming variant of either.

The second subcategory of varying consonants comprises those which

have the same manner but different points of articulation. The first subclass here consists of a pair of glottalized consonants, ɓ/ɗ, which differ in that one is bilabial while the other is alveolar. The single example of this variation is in ADO BAYERO (v. 10) where riɓi is rhymed with fadi and dadi. The second subclass contains the nasal pair m/n which also differ on the bilabial/alveolar axis, and occur in 'YAR FILANI (v. 7) where tsame rhymes with gane, tone and tsone. In the third subclass, the voiced continuants s/sh, one alveolar the other postalveolar (and, in Hausa phonology, the palatalised equivalent of s), occur in ADO SANUSI where -shi is admitted into the basic running rhyme -si. Finally, the semivowel pair w/y occur in BAKI 3 (v. 14) where baya is rhymed with nanatawa, maimaitawa and daidaitawa, though in fact w is a bilabial, y a palatal continuant.

To these four clear subclasses, one should perhaps add a fifth case, that of the triad P/F/h, which have an irregular relationship to each other: f before u or o is very often realized as h in the language, (e.g. for the root tsof-, 'old', the plural is tsofaffi and, less regularly, tsoffi; whereas the singular forms are normally tsoho (masculine) and tsohuwa (feminine) although tsofo and tsofuwa are also encountered; cf. also the two possibilities fora and hora 'punish', fura and hura (blow) as well as the usual form hoto (other than foto of the English loanword photo(graph), also ='picture'). The affinity between the voiceless continuants F/h and the voiceless plosive/continuant P/h is exploited in ZALUNCI (v. 22) where ahu (a Yoruba loan which in daily speech has the variant afu) is rhymed with Nepu (an English abbreviated loan which is also commonly pronounced Nehu or Nepu).

The third subcategory of consonant variation is that in which the consonants do not share either the same point of articulation or the same manner. Here there are only two pairs, s/c and n/y (for r/y see

below). The rhyming of the alveolar fricative with the palatal plosive occurs in ADO SANUSI (v. 1) where -ci is rhymed with what at this stage is still to become the basic running rhyme -si; and in 'YAR FILANI (v. 12), the nasal continuant is admitted into rhyme with the palatal approximant: Wane with waye, yaye and ɓoye.

(iii) CVC rhymes

The third major category involves variation between CVC syllables. In this case, two approaches seem possible. The first of these would be to treat the initial consonant as the varying element and the remaining two elements as constants (i.e. CVC). This approach would be valid and convenient for a good majority of the CVC variations. It would, however, reveal quite a few important exceptions which would have to be accounted for separately, such as the occurrence of -ƙas/-kus (in HAJI, v. 107), -gas/-ɓus (in LEGAS, v. 31), -lib/-dab (in HAJI, v. 36), and -can/-cen/-cin (in AURE, v. 6). It would be in conflict with the otherwise generally regular pattern of Hausa poetry by which the basic rhyme-bearing unit begins with or devolves on a consonant.

The second approach, however, reveals only one exception, and is therefore adopted here (as elsewhere in the section on Qasida-opening rhyme 2.3 below). Although the syllable, (i.e. CV(C)) is the typical Hausa rhyme-bearer, in this section on CVC rhyme variation, this fact is slightly modified and it is considered more meaningful to treat the last element, which is nearly always constant, as the rhyme-bearer by referring to it as the rhyme nucleus, the variation being thus confined to the initial consonant and/or its accompanying vowel. At this level of analysis, then, rhyme is treated primarily as an element of sound (phone) rather than an element of the more abstract concept of the syllable, and CVC in this respect is a linguistic unit of three sound elements. Nearly

all the variations that occur in BANGO, where the main rhyme is -bas, (with the variations -baʂ, -fas, -kwas, -kas, -mas, and -was), in LEGAS where the main rhyme is -gas (with the variations -bas, -ɓus, -das, -fas, -kas, -ƙas, -kwas, -las and -ƙyas), together with -dai, -gai, -mai (taken perhaps as -day, -gay, -may (HAJI v. 80), -ƙas, -kus, -ɗas (HAJI v. 107), -lib, -dab, -kab (HAJI v. 36), -mai, -sai, -tai (taken perhaps as -may, -say, -tay) (HAJI v. 16), -sai, -dai, -ɗai (taken perhaps as -say, -day, -ɗay) (HAJI v. 38), -wai, -sai, -kai, (taken perhaps as -way, -say, -kay) (HAJI v. 104); -las, -nas, -gas and -bas (HAUSA 11 v. 25), -him, -sim, -shim, -lim (ISRA'I v. 8), -bar, -dar (KOKO v. 94), -min, -man (FILLORI v. 16), -nan, -man (HAJI v. 30) - all these are conveniently classifiable once the last consonant in the CVC variations is treated as the rhyme nucleus. The only exception to this general rule is then -kan/-dam in FILLORI (v. 38) where the nasals in the rhymewords kacokan/dam are clearly different although in such word-or phrase-final positions in the language the distinction is often neutralised by assimilation or by reduction to /ŋ/. This treatment would make these examples comparable with the Arabic practice of sometimes admitting a single consonant without a following vowel as the rhyme-bearer. And the fact that the rhyme-consonant is preceded in all or most cases by the same vowel is no more significant than where a -CV rhyme is preceded by the same vowel within a stanza or running rhyme.

(iv) CV+C/CVC-C

The fourth and final major category of consonant rhyme variation is that in which there is either the addition of an extra element (or elements) or the reduction of a third element from the basic CVC rhyme syllable. The majority of the variations involve addition - of another whole syllable or of a third element. The most striking case perhaps is

that of -ra/-raya (UMMARA v. 24), a case that could be treated as a variation of the pair -r/-y though these share neither the same point nor the same manner of articulation. But as the consonant and the vowel of the basic rhyme syllable -ra are exactly the same as the penultimate syllable of the variant rhyme-word gauraya; and since in pronounciation the y, (which is followed by the same vowel -a as in the basic rhyme) can often be barely realized, resulting in effect in a lengthened ra-a with slight yotisation, the discrepancy is perhaps more apparent than real (and the variation could be described somewhat as a case of eye-rhyme variation). This has a parallel in 'YAR GAGARA II v.75 where, however, the sequence - iy- is collapsed because the preceding consonant is already a palatal, so that muciya becomes muca to rhyme with cinca, ca, kurcaca, and caca.)

In the rest of the cases, n is the main additional element: -ɗi/-ɗin, -hi/-hin, -ri/-rin and -ya/-yan. Thus in JIHAR KANO (v. 52) sharaɗin is rhymed with faɗi and suɗi; in MAULIDI I (v. 20) bahhin is rhymed with sahi, ahhi and Shaihi; in ADO BAYERO (v. 46), barin is rhymed with dogari, hari, and zari; while in KICIBIS A (v. 26), bayan is admitted into the basic running rhyme -ya. There is also the addition of r in JIYA (v. 15) where ɗaukar rhymes with shakka and naka. (This type of addition (of n and r) is commonly found elsewhere, e.g. Aliyu Namangi's Imfiraji). The second involvement of r, which is more striking, is found in UMMARA (v. 32) where tantabar is admitted into the basic running rhyme -ra, thus resulting in the variant pair -ra/-bar or -ra/-Car in which the consonant r and the vowel -a are the same but their positions are reversed. Here, again, the phonic element represented by r may be regarded as the rhyme nucleus.

In two other cases - -min/-mi and -man/-na -, the above process is

reversed and the last element in the basic CVC rhyme is dropped in the variant, while the first two elements remain the same. Thus in JUMHURIYA II (v. 71), nemi and somi are rhymed with two occurrences of domin. In KOKO (v. 89), finally, zamana has as rhyming partners Abdurrahaman, Yaman and alaman. This could of course be treated as a case also of the addition of the vowel -a, but as the three rhyming partners of zamana each have the sequence -mana without the final -a, it is more natural to treat the variation as a case of the reduction of the last element.

Thus, from the foregoing detailed analysis, it emerges that Akilu Aliyu's treatment, though solidly based on the Hausa syllable as the typical rhyme-bearer, exploits to the full not only the phonetic nature but also the phonological resources of the language, resulting thus in a degree of variation within the same basic rhyme-scheme that is remarkable.

### 2.2.4. Rhyme-word Variation

Another noteworthy mark of Akilu Aliyu's handling of rhyme is the striking scarcity of repetition of the same rhyme-word in the same vicinity. Note has already been taken (under 2.1.4 above) of the large proportion of repeated words in the running rhyme of poems, and the general significance of such repetition has been shown to be related to the thematic build-up of the poems. The point about repetition here concerns rhyme-words in the internal rhyme, especially within the same stanza or adjacent stanzas; and the following comments relate, firstly, to cases of repetition of those rhyme-words whose final syllables are rare rhyme-syllables, and secondly, to those whose rhyme-syllables are more frequent.

In the first place, among the rare rhyme-syllables the most striking case of rhyme-word repetition is that of the word garai which recurs regularly throughout the four internal lines of two successive stanzas (v. 17 and v. 18) of RIJIYA, in whose 25th stanza the word is furthermore

repeated in three of the four internal lines. The second striking case is the repetition of the rhyme-word kome in all the four internal lines of AURE's 109th quintain. In the first case, the repetition highlights qualities attributed to God in His uniqueness; and in the second, the repetition of kome 'all, everything' emphasizes man's total dependence on God for all his needs, and thus highlights God's self-sufficiency as opposed to man's. The third and last conspicuous example is the repetition of the word babu seven times across three adjacent quintains (64, 65, 66) of SOJA, thus:

64 Kun wa Nkalagu bubu, Bonny an sha artabu,
Yau ina mazugan? Babu. Gagarau dai kam babu,
Sai Barau a wajen soja.

65 Gafara, Ogoja, sarbu! Ko Ikom na nan? Babu.
Har Kafamaka duk babu, Ebboloke ina? Babu.
Sun karo da fushin soja.

66 Ebolo ta zam babu, Sun awonsu na lokabu,
In na ce haka ba aibu, Tun da an shafa babu;
Yau mu kwan Enugu, Soja!

Even here, however, where the repetition is the more conspicuous because of the generally high standard of variety in rhyme-words in this poem, there is not the impression of weakness and monotony that is often attendant upon the repetition of the same rhyme-word. Babu is effective here partly because of the variation in its syntactical usage, and partly because it emphasizes (with all the force, the vigour and immediacy that this full negative form has) the heavy loss and defeat suffered by the Nigerian rebel army, and conveys the sense of the swift, almost sudden downfall of towns previously in the rebel hold. Repeated occurrences of the same word containing a rare rhyme-syllable in such close proximity,

apart from these exceptions, is otherwise noticeably sparse in the corpus.

Repetition of rare rhyme-words within two well separated stanzas, however, is relatively more common. Thus -tsi, (a rare rhume-syllable which occurs only twice in the corpus) has both instances in CUTA, first (in v. 4) with amazing variety of the rhyme-word, but then with one repetition when the second instance (v. 64) is considered alongside it:

v. 4: Da assabar an durtsi — Kashi, a karyan gurtsi,
Da rana wane hantsi, — Goma awa ba motsi,
Zato ake ma ba ni.

v. 64: Zama kurum ko motsi, — Da safiya ko hantsi,
Shigar wa ƙaiƙai firtsi, — Yi tuntuni, ka tsintsi
Wa ya yi: Sarki mai ni.

Even here, again, the effect from the point of view of the auditor/reader is that of overall variety since other factors - e.g. the distance between the two stanzas, and the varied syntactic construction and sematic usage of the repeated rhyme-words - play a major role in response and appreciation.

Thus, although it would be logical to expect repetition in the case of rare rhyme-words because of the very fact of their rarity, and although in most other Hausa poems where such rhymes are at all employed this expectation is fulfilled, in our corpus variation of the rare rhyme-word is the rule rather than the exception, and this demonstrates Ƙilu's skill and ingenuity in his selection and treatment of rhyme.

As regards common rhyme-words, moreover, where again, the very fact of their frequency and common abundance in the language reduces the need and/or necessity to repeat the word, repetition is, as would be expected, even more rare in our corpus. The relatively noticeable repeated rhyme-words include the particles (such as the Negative ba) and some pronominal

forms, which are monosyllabic and tend to be unobtrusive to the rhyme expectancies of the reader/auditor, besides usually serving some underlying thematic or stylistic function (cf. their role as running rhymes in 2.1.5 above). Among polysyllabic words, one interesting case should be noted, namely the repetition of the word lafiya in all the four internal lines of ADO BAYERO (v. 16) - a word whose final syllable is perhaps the commonest suffix in Hausa:

Ka hau lau lafiya,
Sarki, ishi lafiya,
Ka dawo lafiya,
Zauna giji lafiya,
Hutawa San-Kano.

Clearly, here the repetition of the same rhyme-word is intentional, echoing virtually all the nuances, the ceremony as well as the well-worn traditional palace parlance and diction of court praise style of Waka I; but equally interesting is the fact that the -ya of this repeated rhyme-word is not a suffix at all.

Thus the overall impression in Akilu's poetry is one of remarkable variation in the rhyme-word.

## 2.3. Other aspects of segmental rhyme

From the foregoing two major sections of this chapter, several interesting points have arisen which should ideally be further pursued in depth; but for our present purpose they can mostly be ignored and it should suffice to simply mention a few of them in this last section.

### 2.3.1. Qasida-opening rhyme style

The most important of these other aspects of segmental rhyme is Qasida-opening rhyme, the feature in which the running rhyme-syllable of

a poem is anticipated and established by the internal lines of the very first stanza of the poem. This stylistic feature which originates from Arabic versification, at least in its rudimentary form, deserves attention not only because it characterizes the majority of Akilu's poems in our study, but also due to the degree to which it is used to project and highlight the theme of poems; for as has been shown earlier (in 2.1), running rhyme is frequently thematically significant. However, except for a brief discussion of a few somewhat marginal cases (those marked with asterisks in Table 2/8 below), the majority of the poems with this Qasida-opening rhyme style present such a clear picture that hardly any further comment is necessary.

The importance Akilu attaches to this projection of the running rhyme (R) is reflected by the fact that 44 poems in our corpus of 74 poems with running rhyme indubitably have this Qasida-opening rhyme. Of this figure (approximately 60 per cent of our relevant corpus) 23 poems are in quintains, a stanzaic form which generally has internal rhyme (r) as well as running rhyme (R). In the opening quintain of each of these the internal (r) is the same as the running (R), i.e. r = R, as in ISRA'I:

(a) Bismillahi a farkon ƙaulu,
(b) Ya jama'a ku mu daina hululu,
(c) Babu abin yi sai tahalilu,
(d) Ko mu yi fadanci ga Rasulu,
(e) Annabi mai kaka da Halilu;

or as in CUTA:

Ubangijina, ga ni, Bara nake, ya Mai ni,
Abin nufina ba ni, A kan tafarki sa ni,
Wanda shi ka shirya ni.

More significant still, is the fact that this feature clearly occurs also in 21 poems in couplets, a stanzaic form that typically does not have internal rhyme. Examples are provided by the pair of educational poems KADAURA and KALUBALE where the opening verses are rhyming couplets:

Bismil Ilahi da shi nake farawa
Kome nake niyyar nufin shiryawa

and

Kulun kulufit: abu dunkule, Kalau na kale, kalubale.

It is to be noted, however, that Akilu is not alone among Waka II poets in this. Apart from the notable exception of Mu'azu Hadeja (whose eleven published poems do not have Qasida-opening rhyme) and Aliyu Namangi (whose Imfiraji and Nuniyatul Amdahi also do not have it), a good number (13) of the published poems by other Hausa poets have this Qasida-opening rhyme style. Of the 13 observed, four are in quintains, one in quatrains, and eight in couplets. The quintains are Ma'ama'are (106 vv.), Isa's Hausa translation of the Fula original by Shehu Usmanu, which rhymes in -sa, Sa'adu Zungur's -wa-whyming 'Maraba da Soja', Na'ibi Wali's -ya-rhyming 'Maraba da 'Yanci', and Salihu Kontagora's -ki-rhyming 'Kasa Aikin Jalla'. The latter's quatrain poem, 'Mutum Cikin Binciken Aiki', also rhymes in -ki. The 8 in couplets are:

(1) Bagauda (377 vv.), which rhymes in -wa;

(2) Sa'adu Zungur's 'Bidi'a', which rhymes in -'a;

(3) His 'Arewa Jumhuriya...', (163/2) which rhymes in -ya in the first 3 couplets and ends, in v. 159, also in -ya; as well as his wa-rhyming 'Maraba da Soja' (43/5);

(4) Naibi Wali's 'Gargadi...', which rhymes in -ce in the first two couplets;

and the remaining four couplet poems with this feature are all by Salihu

Kontagora; these being his three poems in Wakokin Hausa, which rhyme respectively in -ci, -ci, and -ya, while his more recent publication 'Fahimta' rhymes in -ta.

But although these random samples clearly show that Akilu is merely being conventional in this type of Qasida-opening rhyme, he appears to have gone further than most other Hausa in the way he experiments with this convention, in the following manner. These 13 examples from other poets match Akilu's poems in that the end of the internal line(s) correspond with the running rhyme of the poems. In our corpus, this happens in 30 poems, 17 in quintains and 13 in couplets. In the remaining 14 clear cases in our corpus, 6 in quintains, 8 in couplets, the beginning as well as the end of the internal line(s) also correspond to the running rhyme. This means that if we graphically schematize the first basic type of Qasida-Opening rhyme as

——r/——r/——r/——r/——R for quintains,

and

——r/——R for couplets,

where r = R, for this second, extended type of Qasida-opening in 14 poems, we have

r——R/r——r/r——r/r——r/r——R for quintains,

and

r——r/r——R for couplets.

Outside of Akilu, the single published poem noted with this extended form of Qasida-Opening rhyme is Hassan Idris' 'Soja' (in Gaskiya Ta Fi Kwabo 26/2/68) which rhymes in -ya. Among Akilu's 14 poems with this feature, examples may be cited from DAMINA:

Kafilun, ishi bayinka, Ka ishe ni da girmanka,

Ka fadi na kiraye ka, Ka ji na fadi sunanka,

Kai da kaya duk naka;

from HAJI, which opens with the Negative ba

Ba zan rasa gode Allah ba,
Ba zan zama mai butulci ba,
Ba zan rasa gai da Mamman ba,
Ba zan rasa nuna murna ba,
Ba tare da hambarewa ba;

and from HAUSA II, which has the two opening verses beginning each line and ending it with -sa, which is the last syllable of the title-and theme-word Hausa, though this poem has only two occurrences of this word in its running rhyme (in contrast to the earlier HAUSA I, where it occurs in about one-third of the total running rhyme):

(1) Sa mini hattararka ka kimsa,
Sarki kar ka sa in kasa,
Sak kusa kar mu kai ta a nesa,
Sashen Hausa ya bunkasa
Sosai ya ɗarar wa waninsa.

(2) San da na ka tuno zan nisa,
Sai ciza, na zo in busa,
Sun bidi in yi, na ko amsa,
Sau wa Gwani nake gyaransa,
Sarki mai kusato nesa.

This extended form of Qasida-opening has also been strikingly employed in SOJA where soja, the subject of the poem which is the constant running rhyme-word is, as it were, projected by the -ja at the beginning and end of each line of the opening quintain (see Skinner and Galadanci 1973, and Muhammad, D. 1973).

From the couplet poems, SANIYA and SOMI (A) could be cited. In the former, the last syllable of the lyrical subject saniya 'cow' is used to project the theme in a highly parallelistic way:

Ya mai ni'ima mayawaiciya,
Ya mai kudura makadaiciya.

Perhaps even more interesting, is the arrestingly symmetrical dialectic of the extended Qasida-opening rhyme of SOMI, an educational poem in which the repeated Ta...ta of its first two couplets echoes the final syllable of the theme- and title-word makaranta, which is also the amshi-final word of the poem. The two couplets are worth translating:

(1) Ta fadar Makagina na fari fadata,
Tashi da mikewa da takawata,
(2) Tafiya, da zaunawa da kwantawata,
Tanye ni, ya Allah a kan manufata.

'In the mention of my Inventor do I begin my say;
(In) Waking, and rising, and (in) my stepping,
(In Walking about, and sitting down, and (in) my going to bed,
Help me, O God, in may aim.'

As this example and the earlier one from HAUSA II indicate, some poems have Qasida-opening rhyme beyond the first stanza. In fact, besides these two, there are five other poems (excluding one 'marginal' case) with this further development. Among poems with the rudimentary form of Qasida-opening rhyme, there are four such cases: ZALUNCI (in quintains), and GORA and 'YAN DARA (in couplets), which have this in their first two verses; while DANGATA (in couplets) has it in three opening verses. And among those with the extended form of Qasida-opening rhyme, there is (in addition to SOMI and HAUSA II) the quintain poem YARO which has it in its first two verses. This means that there are seven clear cases with Qasida-

opening not merely in their first stanza but also beyond it to the second and on one case to the third opening verses (see Table 2/8).

The 'marginal' cases referred to earlier on are all interesting. In ADO BAYERO, the running-rhyme is -no, and in the first quintain -nu is the internal rhyme, which, in view of the -no/nu variation noticed earlier, may perhaps be considered near enough (see 2.2.3 (ii)) to be regarded as a case of Qasida-opening rhyme. The same applies to AURE where -re is the running but has -ri in the first two quintains. In LEGAS, where the running rhyme is basically CVs, and where the opening couplet is

Sunan Allahu Kuddusu
Sabo da kiransa ne tabbas,

the consonant sound /s/ may be considered the nucleus of the rhyme, in which case a Qasida-opening rhyme obtains. Similarly, in TALBIJIN, whose running rhyme is -na but where the opening couplet is

Na ambaci wanda shikai mana
Ni'imarsa da ke saukar mana,

an extended Qasida-opening rhyme would be felt if the consonant sound /n/ is regarded as the nucleus here. Finally, in AMSA, where the -ba running rhyme is predominantly the Negative ba (which serves an underlying thematic function), but where ka begins each line of the opening verse and ends the four internal lines, thus

Karimu ka ba ni baiwarka
Ka ba ni gudummuwa taka,
Ka sa ni na aika horonka,
Ka gafarce ni sabonka,
Ka sa ni na dinga yin tuba;

compensation is accorded to the Negative ba in the second opening quintain

in an extended form:

Ba zan rasa ambaton Rabba,

Ba zan rasa gai da Manzo ba,

Ba na yi shiru da baki ba,

Ba ta yiwu ni a guna ba,

Ba zan iya aika wannan ba.

Thus including the five 'marginal' exceptions discussed, there are a total of 49 poems out of our relevant corpus of 74 (i.e. 66 per cent) with Qasida-opening rhyme (see Table 2/8). In 32 of these, it has been observed that the Qasida-opening rhyme is the basic rudimentary type, which is found, though with less frequency, in published poems by other Waka II authors; and that in the other 17 poems with the extended form, there is a striking rarity of parallels by other poets. This suggests that the extended form is an especial favourite device of Akilu Aliyu's, and the skill with which he handles this aspect of segmental rhyme emphasizes his individual poetic artistry and experimentation.

By way of illustrating the continual, dynamic nature of Akilu's daring experimentation, this section may be appropriately concluded by citing a pair of verses from one rather longer recent fragment (not otherwise in our corpus), where the extended Qasida-opening rhyme is itself further still extended so that each line of every quintain of the fragment begins and ends in the same syllable, yi:

Yina da farko basmala, haka ke yi,

Yi kula ka lura cikin fadar Mabuwayi,

Yi ta tsarkake niyya, a zuci ake yi,

Yinayin da ba a taba yi ba yau shi zan yi,

Yi wa 'yan'uwa 'Lale' Akilu nake yi.

Yi ko bari, Allahu shi ne mai yi,

Yi kula da alkawari, rike shi ake yi,

Yi ta kokari ka cika, da kyau, haka ke yi,

Yi dawainiyar kulla shi, ba a kin yi,

Yi maraba, 'San da zuwa' ake wa masoyi.

In this connection it should be noted that two other great contemporary experimenters of Hausa verse have composed poems with almost identical style in line-initial patterning. Umaru Gwandu's 'Gafara Muka Fata...' and Yusufu Kantu's remarkable tahmisi of Sa'adu Zungur's 'Arewa Jumhuriya' have the pattern whereby each internal line in a quintain begins with the same sound though it does not necessary end in it. But while this style emphasizes the unity of each quintain only (besides of course the unity between the quintains provided by the running rhyme), Akilu's -yi rhyming fragment clearly achieves closer-knit unity and thus has an edge over the others.

### 2.3.2. Rhyme Clustering tendency

Finally, brief mention should be made of the fact that in some poems in our corpus, there is what may be termed a rhyme-syllable-clustering tendency, whereby an internal rhyme-syllable is repeated across several successive stanzas. Though it is difficult to determine how much significance should be attached to this, especially since there is no clear patterning, still the facts are worth noting for the record and for a possible comparison with other poets. One's own impression as an ordinary reader or listener is that where there are many instances of serialisation of the same internal rhyme-syllable in a poem, it becomes a conspicuous and significant feature - a type of parallelism - but where it is rare it tends to escape notice. For instance, in JUMHURIYA I, the serialised rhyme-syllable -mu is paired not once but three times (40-1, 63-4, 81-2);

moreover, it becomes more noticeable because it is trebled (14-16) and; it is given greater prominence not only because it is also clustered (in the sense of occurring in more than three successive verses), but even more so because it is clustered twice (34-37; 74-79). This gives this internal rhyme-syllable a cumulatively conspicuous significance. Thus, again, in YARO there are three pairs of ba as internal rhyme (1-2, 42-43, 51-2) and two clusters (33-36 and 67-70); ne, which occurs in a trio of verses (38-40), occurs again in a cluster of seven successive quintains (22-28); and ci is paired once (29-30) and clustered across five adjacent quintains (17-21). Many pairs are encountered in many poems, followed by trios and fewer clusters of certain internal rhyme-syllables, but these examples should suffice to show the tendency towards rhyme-clustering in Akilu Aliyu, which may be the beginning of another experiment in his handling of rhyme, serving perhaps to highlight the verses involved or even the theme of the poem. In AMSA (41/5), for instance, which has only one pair of serialised rhyme-syllable, -ci, which comes in the last pair of quintains of the poem, it is possible to draw the conclusion that this is a deliberate device to highlight the sub-theme of the poem, the praise of the fellow-poet Shehu Alkanci whose salient virtues, as expressed in the paired quintains, are justice and love of freedom; and, secondly, this is a deliberate reflection of the background and circumstances of the composition, for AMSA is an apologetic reply to Shehu Alkanci's own 'Wasika ta Sha'irci, which itself rhymes internally in -ci in its final, 34th, quintain.

TABLE 2/8: Qasida-opening rhyme

I Basic form: 32 poems

(a) Quintains. Scheme: ——r/——r/——r/——r/——R: 19 poems

(1) ADO BAYERO: nu (no)*
(2) AURE: ri (re)*(1-2)
(3) AFIRKA: ka
(4) AL'ADU: da
(5) BAKI 3: 'Yanpisi
(6) CUTA: ni
(7) DUNIYA: ya
(8) GUZURI: re
(9) INKWARIYA: ri
(10) ISRA'I: lu
(11) JIHAR KANO: ba
(12) JUMHURIYA I: ya
(13) MAULIDI I: la
(14) MAULIDI II: la
(15) MAULIDI III: di
(16) RIJIYA: ni
(17) TAURARO: ni
(18) USMAN: ni
(19) ZALUNCI: ci (1-2)

(b) Couplets. Scheme: ——r/——R: 13 poems

(1) CI GABA: ba
(2) DANGATA: ta (1-3)
(3) GASKIYA: ya
(4) GORA: ta (1-2)
(5) HAKURI: re
(6) IBRAHIMA: ma
(7) KADAURA: wa
(8) KALUBALE: le
(9) NAIRA: ya
(10) NASIHA: ya
(11) SAKO: ni
(12) SANSAN: ya
(13) 'YAN DARA: ra (1-2)

II Extended form: 17 poems

(a) Quintains. Scheme: r——r/r——r/r——r/r——r/r——R: 7 poems

(1) AMSA (in v.2)*: ba
(2) DAMINA: ka
(3) HAJI: ba
(4) HAUSA II: sa (1-2)
(5) MURTALA: la
(6) SOJA: ja
(7) YARO: ba (1-2)

(b) Couplets. Scheme: r——r/r——R: 10 poems

(1) HAUSA I: sa
(2) KAFIYYA: ka
(3) KAIKAI: ka
(4) LEGAS: s (CVs)*
(5) MASOYI: yi
(6) SANIYA: ya
(7) SOMI (A): ta (1-2)
(8) TALBIJIN: n (na)*
(9) UMMARA: ra
(10) 'YAN MAKARANTA: ya

## 2.4. Summary

Apart from two conspicuous exceptions, where rhyme is deliberately avoided, Ákilu's poetry is traditional in that it has segmental rhyme. The poems also include a few with only internal and no running rhyme, or a bipartite system of running rhyme, both these kinds being relatively rare in the rhyme tradition; but there are many poems in the corpus with a predominant, frequent, or, more rarely, constant running rhyme-word which helps to foreground the theme, and these are very much in the traditional style, though one notices a deeper thematic foregrounding particularly in poems with the negative particle and the personal pronoun running rhymes.

Another level of Ákilu's individual rhyme style is that although the great majority of his poetry is solidly based on the tradition in having the final open syllable of the poetic line as the rhyme-bearer, and in making use of a large proportion of the readily available syllables commonly used by other Hausa poets, he also makes use of a large number of very rare open rhyme-syllables not used in much other Hausa Waka II. And as regards other kinds of syllable rhyme-bearers, he uses a surprisingly large proportion of closed and diphthongal syllables. In this, and in exploiting the phonological and morphological of Hausa and other languages, Ákilu's individuality and artistic skill are apparent.

One also notices the relative frequency of the use of different related sounds within the same rhyme-scheme resulting in the rhyme-syllable variation, as well as the general avoidance of repetition of the same rhyme-word in the internal rhyme; and that when the same internal rhyme-word is repeated within the same vicinity, it usually seems to be stylistically significant. Noteworthy also is the feature of Qasida-opening rhyme, not only the use of the basic form found often in other

Hausa poems, but also the extended form (covering line-initial as well as line-final syllables), which is very rarely used by other Hausa poets. Finally, one notes the tendency in Aƙilu toward rhyme-syllable clustering or serialization, though the extent and significance of this feature need further investigation. Aƙilu's poetry therefore impresses one with remarkable variety and experimentation in the matter of segmental rhyme.

## Chapter III. TONAL RHYME

### 3.0. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to describe briefly one feature of poetic structure which appears to have escaped notice so far in the study of Hausa verse, oral or written, though it would seem to be a fairly general prosodic principle. This is the phenomenon of tonal (or suprasegmental) rhyme, whereby the ends of poetic lines are structurally marked by a tonal system of patterning.

In a previous chapter, it was emphasized that the typical rhyme-bearer (in Waka II) is the final syllable of the line of verse, which in Hausa is CV(C). If we refer to this line-final syllable as Syll-z, it would be sufficient, in order to establish the existence of tonal rhyme, to show that this Syll-z has a consistent tone in the majority, if not in all of the lines of a poem. As, however, a consideration solely of the Syll-z is limited - there being only two possibilities between the two basic high and low tonemes of Hausa - ; as, also, experience has shown that tonal rhyme often includes the penultimate and even sometimes the ante-penultimate syllables (the Syll-y and Syll-x) as well as the Syll-z of poetic lines, the following account considers the presence of tonal rhyme in these other syllables also. Again, as it is important to show not only that tonal rhyme exists in our corpus but also to what degree of consistency it does so, it is appropriate to divide the poems studied for this feature according to whether they have a tonal pattern (TP) that is consistently regular, almost regular, or simply in a majority of the two or three final syllables of their lines. In so doing, it has been found necessary to refer frequently to the facts of segmental rhyme as described in the previous chapter. Again, here, the tonal running rhyme is considered first, then the tonal internal rhyme.

### 3.1. Tonal Running Rhyme

In our corpus, 73 poems were studied in depth for tonal running rhyme, and all were found to have a tonal running rhyme pattern (TPR) in a significant proportion of their (segmental) running rhyme positions. As the degree of consistency of the TPR varies between the poems, they are divided into three categories, according to whether the consistent tone pattern (TP) occurs in all, in nearly all, or simply in a majority of their running rhyme.

In the first category, there are 34 poems with a regular pattern throughout, in the second there are 28 poems with a consistent pattern ranging between 90 and 99 per cent, and in the third category there are 20 poems with a consistency above 50 but below 90 per cent. At the same time, 18 poems out of the 73 have a combination of two patterns in two of these three categories.

#### 3.1.1. Regular tonal running rhyme (or TPR reg.)

Among the 34 poems with a regular tonal running rhyme, four groups may be distinguished according to the nature of their segmental running rhyme and the relationship of this to the title and/or theme of the poems (see Table 3/1 for details).

It is appropriate to mention first two pairs of quintain poems which are distinguished by having a single constant running rhyme-word: BAKI 3 and SOJA where the words are 'Yanpisi and soja respectively, and JIHAR KANO and KOKO where the (monosyllabic) Negative particle ba is the constant running rhyme-word. In BAKI 3, where 'Yanpisi is also a title-word, the tone pattern is HHL or HHF depending on the pronunciation, and in SOJA it is HL. Thus in this pair the regular TPR is not surprising because it is predictable from the fact of the constant (polysyllabic) running rhyme-words. In the case of the other pair, while the regular high tone of the

final syllable of the lines is predictable, the preceding syllable, (the Syll-y) which is not predictable, is still regularly high, so that in both poems the TPR is regularly HH. In JIHAR KANO the Negative ba is also a title-word, while in KOKO it is a theme-word.

In the second group with regular TPR, there are eleven poems with a title-word occurring as a predominant running rhyme-word (in the sense that it is the most frequent in the poem). These poems, six of which are in couplets and five in quintains, are given with their details in Table 3/1 and are here only listed with their tone patterns.

(1) AURE: HH
(2) INUWA: LHL
(3) BANGO: HL
(4) LEGAS: HL/F
(5) MAULIDI I: HL
(6) MAULIDI II: HL
(7) IBRAHIMA: HL
(8) HAKURI: LH
(9) MURTALA: LH
(10) DAMINA: HL
(11) UMMARA: HL

In the case of DAMINA and UMMARA, there is in addition a theme-word having the same tone pattern as the TPR and which provides variety to the (segmental) rhyme while contributing to the regularity of the tonal rhyme and helping to highlight the theme. Thus shuka in DAMINA, and kura and tambura in UMMARA are worth noting. In LEGAS, the regular TPR occurs either in the last two syllables (HL) or in the last one syllable (F) but the pattern is essentially the same since a falling tone is a compressed H-L sequence on a single syllable. In IBRAHIMA, the two

variants Ibrahima and Barhama (of the more common form Ibrahim) both occur in the rhyme, both being essentially contained in the second word of the full title of the poem 'Inyasiyya Ibrahimiyya'. INUWA has a regular TPR in its three final syllables.

In the third group there are 12 poems, but here it is a theme-word rather than a title-word that is predominant as the running rhyme. These twelve poems comprise six in quintains, one in quatrains, and five in couplets (see Table 3/1 for details):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | JUMHURIYA I: | HL |
| (2) | ISRA'I: | LHL |
| (3) | ADO SANUSI: | HH |
| (4) | TUBA I: | HH |
| (5) | TUBA II: | HH |
| (6) | AMSA: | HH |
| (7) | JIYA: | HH |
| (8) | SAKO: | LH |
| (9) | CUTA: | LH |
| (10) | JAKADIYA: | HLH |
| (11) | MAULIDI III: | HLH |
| (12) | RIJIYA: | HLH |

In six of these poems (as indicated in brackets in Table 3/1), the regular TPR also corresponds to the tone pattern or last tone sequence of a title-word though in fact this word does not occur at all or as a predominant running rhyme-word in the poem. It is also noticeable that in four poems in this group the regular TPR is found in the last three syllables, not only in the last two as in the remainder.

In the fourth (last) group of poems in this category, there are seven poems in which there is no frequent running rhyme-word. This group

(of 3 poems in couplets and 4 in quintains) comprises the following:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | FILLORI: | LH |
| (2) | JUMHURIYA II: | LH/FH |
| (3) | KALUBALE: | LH |
| (4) | INKWARIYA: | LH |
| (5) | MAZA: | LH/FH |
| (6) | NAJERIYA: | HL/HF |
| (7) | ZALUNCI: | HL |

It is noteworthy that among these poems, FILLORI (in 83 couplets) and NAJERIYA (in 64 quintains) are internally rhyming poems which do not have (segmental) running rhyme but which nevertheless have a regular TPR covering their last two syllables. In ZALUNCI, where there is a segmental running rhyme (in -ci) there is no frequent rhyme-word as such, the two most recurrent words being repeated only three times each, while, furthermore, as many as eleven other rhyme-words occur only once each. But despite this general infrequency, there is a regular TPR in the last two syllables of the poem's 25 quintains. From the tonal rhyme point of view, this fourth group of seven poems are the most significant in this first category (in contrast to those in the first group with a constant running rhyme-word), for they demonstrate the pertinent TPR regularity achieved without the aid of a regular, predominant, or even frequent running rhyme-word.

TABLE 3/1: Regular Tonal Running Rhyme (i.e. regular TPR)

| Poem | | TPR | Relevant Title-word: title-Word | Occurrences as rhyme-word | TP | Relevant theme-word: Theme-Word | Occurrences as theme-word | TP | Other relevant rhyme-word |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Group 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. BAKI 3 | 40/5 | HHL/HHF | 'Yanpisi | all | HHL/HHF | | | | - |
| 2. SOJA | 95/5 | HL | | | | soja | all | HL | - |
| 3. JIHAR KANO | 53/5 | HL | Neg. ba | all | H | | | | - |
| 4. KOKO | 124/5 | HH | | | | Neg. ba | all | H | - |
| Group 2 | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. AURE | 110/5 | HH | aure | 102/110 | HH | | | | |
| 6. BANGO | 72/2 | HL | gabas | 57/72 | HL | | | | |
| 7. INUWA | 51/2 | LHL | sawaba | 50/51 | LHL | | | | |
| 8. LEGAS | 94/2 | HL/F | Legas | 65/94 | HL | | | | |
| 9. MAULIDI I | 41/5 | HL | Allah | 33/41 | HL | | | | Arabic wo |
| 10. MAULIDI II | 35/5 | HL | Allah | 27/35 | HL | | | | " " |
| 11. IBRAHIMA | 116/2 | HL | Ibrahima | 48/116 | LHHL | | | | |
| | | | Barhama | 25/116 | LHL | | | | |
| 12. HANURI | 260/2 | LH | tare | 158/260 | LH | | | | |
| 13. MURTALA | 91/5 | LH | Murtala | 86/91 | HLH | | | | |
| 14. DAMINA | 29/5 | HL | albarka | 12/29 | LHL | shuka | 4/29 | HL | |
| 15. UMMARA | 204/2 | HL | Ummara | 72/204 | LHL | kura | 10/204 | HL | |
| | | | | | | tambura | 10/204 | HHL | |

Group 3

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 16. ADO SANUSI | 167/2 | HH | | | | Sanusi | 110/167 | LHH | " | " |
| 17. JAKADIYA | 103/2 | HLH | (fikiri | 5/103 | HLH) | zikiri | 71/103 | HLH | | |
| 18. JUMHURIYA I | 100/5 | HL | | | | Najeriya | 24/100 | LHHL | | |
| 19. TUBA I | 79/2 | HH | | | | Neg. ba | 58/79 | H | | |
| 20. TUBA II | 251/2 | HH | (tuba | 36/251 | HH ) | Neg. ba | 212/251 | H | | |
| 21. AMSA | 41/5 | HH | (tuba | 6/41 | HH ) | Neg. ba | 35/41 | H | | |
| 22. JIYA | 56/4 | HH | | | | baya | 27/56 | HH | | |
| | | | | | | Karya | 20/56 | HH | " | " |
| 23. ISRA'I | 104/5 | LHL | (isra'i | - | LHL) | Rasulu | 30/104 | LHL | | |
| | | | (basira | - | LHL) | Jibrilu | 11/104 | LHL | | |
| 24. CUTA | 67/5 | LH | (cuta | - | LH ) | Pron. ni | 51/67 | H | | |
| 25. SAKO | 56/2 | LH | (sako | - | LH ) | Pron. ni | 39/56 | H | | |
| 26. MAULIDI III | 63/5 | HLH | | | | Muhammadi | 18/63 | LHLH | " | " |
| | | | | | | Ahmadi | 16/63 | HLH | | |
| 27. RIJIYA | 26/5 | HLH | (rijiya | - | HLH) | Sayyidi | 12/63 | HLH | | |
| | | | | | | Pron. ni | 6/26 | H | | |

TABLE 3/1: (Continued)

| Poem | | TPR | Relevant Title-word: Title-Word | Occurrences as rhyme-word | TP | Relevant theme-word: Theme-Word | Occurrences as theme-word | TP | Other relevant rhyme-word |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Group 4 | | | | | | | | | |
| 28. FILLORI | 55/2 | LH | (fillori | - | LLH ) | - | | | |
| 29. JUMHURIYA II | 73/5 | LH/FH | - | | | - | | | |
| 30. KALUBALE | 48/2 | LH | (kalubale | 3/48 | HHLH) | | | | |
| 31. INKILARIYA | 23/5 | LH | | | | | | | |
| 32. KUN BARKONO | 364/2 | LH/FH | (kunun | - | LH ) | | | | |
| | | | (barkono | - | LLH ) | | | | |
| 33. NAJERIYA | 64/5 | HL/HF | (Najeriya | - | LHHL) | | | | |
| 34. ZALUNCI | 25/5 | HHL | | | | | | | |

3.1.2. Predominant tonal running rhyme (or TPR predom.)

In the second category, there are 28 poems with a consistent tonal pattern in nearly all, i.e. in between 90 and 99 per cent of its (segmental) running rhyme positions. These 28 poems fall into five groups as follows (for details see Table 3/2).

The first group consists of two couplet and two quintain poems in which the predominant or almost regular TPR is the same as the tone pattern of a title-word which is at the same a predominant running rhyme-word:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | AFIRKA: | LHL | (3) | MURTALA: | HLH |
| (2) | BEGE: | HLH/HLF | (4) | NA'IBI: | LH |

In the case of MURTALA, the HLH pattern which occurs in 86 out of its 91 quintains is an extension of the completely regular LH pattern noted in 3.1.1 above. In its running rhyme position there are ten words, with the title-word Murtala predominating (with 76 occurrences); but, in addition to this title-word, there are seven other rhyme-words whose tone pattern or final tone sequence is the same as that of this predominant word. While these provide variety to the segmental rhyme, they also help to establish the near-regularity of the TPR. It is also worth noting that except for NA'IBI, which has a disyllabic TPR, the TPR of the others covers all of the last three syllables.

In the second group there are seven poems (1 in quintains, the rest in couplets) in which there is a frequent running rhyme-word which is also a title-word:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | AL'ADU: | HL | (5) | NOMA: | HH |
| (2) | CI GABA: | LH | (6) | 'YAN DARA: | HL |
| (3) | DANGATA: | HH | (7) | YAN MAKARANTA: | LH/FH |
| (4) | MAZAJE: | HL | | | |

In three of these, as Table 3/2 indicates, there is also a frequently recurring rhyme-word which is a theme-word with the same tone pattern as the TPR. Thus, for instance, in 'DAN GATA, where the title-word gata occurs 126 times, the theme-word mata also occurs as many as 82 times in the poem's 357 running rhyme positions. Thus, in helping to highlight the theme, this word also contributes to the predominant TPR of the poem. In AL'ADU, it is to be noted that two title-words occur frequently as rhyme-words, these being al'ada (12 times) and da (10 times).

The third group of poems with a predominant TPR also consists of seven poems, three in quintains, four in couplets. In these the TPR is the same as the last tone pattern of a key theme-word occurring as a predominant running rhyme-word:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | ADO BAYERO: | HL | (5) | TUBA I: | LHH |
| (2) | CIBIYA II: | HH | (6) | TUBA II: | LHH |
| (3) | HAJI: | LH | (7) | YARO: | LH |
| (4) | KAFIYYA: | HL/FL | | | |

In the case of TUBA I and TUBA II, the LHH pattern is an extension of the regular HH TPR noted earlier (in 3.1.1) for these poems. Though the HL and FL patterns of KAFIYYA are not identical, they both produce a final sequence descending from High to Low.

The fourth group comprises four poems (two in quintains, two in couplets) in which the TPR is the same as the TP or final tone sequence of a key theme-word which occurs with some frequency, but not predominantly, as a running rhyme-word:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | GUZURI: | LH | (4) | KICIBIS A: | HL |
| (2) | HAUSA II: | HL | (5) | TALBIJIN: | HL |

In three of these (as shown in brackets in Table 3/2), the predominant TPR is also the same as the tone pattern or final tone sequence of a title-word although this is not a rhyme-word in the poem. Thus, for instance, in TALBIJIN, the HL pattern is the same as the final sequence of the title-word talbijin and also the same as the TP of another title-word gode, though neither word occurs as a running rhyme-word.

In the fifth, final group of 3 quintain-, 3 couplet-poems, there is no frequent rhyme-word, though the TPR is still over 90%:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | INKWARIYA: | HLH | (4) | MARABA: | HL |
| (2) | JUMHURIYA II: | HLH/FH | (5) | 'YAR GAGARA I: | HHH |
| (3) | KADAURA: | HLH/FH | (6) | ZALUNCI: | HHL |

Among these six poems, it has already been noted that INKWARIYA has a completely regular LH pattern, and also that ZALUNCI has a completely regular HL pattern. As regards JUMHURIYA II and KADAURA, both of which have a running rhyme in -wa (predominantly -wa- ending verbal nouns) both have their predominant TPR either in their three final syllables (HLH) or in two (FH), but the pattern is essentially the same. Thus, except for MARABA, which has a disyllabic TPR, it could be said that all the other poems in this group have a predominant TPR covering their three final syllables. Even more important is the fact that MARABA and 'YAR GAGARA I, both in couplets, have no segmental running rhyme but nevertheless have a consistent TPR in over 90 per cent of their verses.

Thus, in most of these 28 poems in the second category there is a noticeable correlation between the predominant TPR and the TP or final tone sequence of a key title-word or theme-word which is also a predominant or frequent running rhyme-word, the noteworthy exceptions being the six poems in this fifth group.

Of equal, if not greater significance, however, are the figures in the last two columns in Table 3/2, which show that in the great majority of cases, even where a predominantly or frequently occurring title - or

theme-word accounts for the TPR in a considerable proportion of the stanzas, a significant proportion of the remaining running rhyme-words also have a tone pattern corresponding to the TPR. This is strong justification for assuming that the near regularity of the TPR is not due solely to the predominance of a single word but is part of a deliberate design on the author's part to achieve an almost regular tonal running rhyme.

TABLE 3/2: Predominant Tonal Running Rhyme (i.e. between 90 and 99%)

| Poem | | TPR | Freq. | Relevant Title-word: Title-word | Relevant Title-word: Freq. as R-word | Relevant Theme-word: Theme-word | Relevant Theme-word: Freq. as R-word | Total R-words: R-words in total | Total R-words: R-words with TPR |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Group 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. AFIRKA | 26/5 | LHL | 25/26 | Afirka | 19/26 | | | 6 | 3 |
| 2. BEGE | 83/2 | HLH/HLF | 78/83 | masoyi | 35/83 | | | 9 | 5 |
| 3. MURTALA | 91/5 | HLH | 86/91 | Murtala | 76/91 | | | 10 | 8 |
| 4. NA'IBI | 52/2 | LH | 47/52 | Na'ibi | 19/52 | | | 15 | 13 |
| Group 2 | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. AL'ADU | 63/5 | HL | 62/63 | al'ada | 12/63 | | | 24 | 23 |
| | | | | da | 10/63 | | | | |
| 6. CI GABA | 384/2 | LH | 381/384 | gaba | 150/384 | | | 14 | 12 |
| 7. DANGATA | 357/2 | HH | 332/357 | gata | 126/357 | mata | 82/357 | 32 | 17 |
| 8. MAZAJE | 249/2 | HL | 228/249 | Najeriya | 78/249 | | | 37 | 25 |
| 9. NOMA | 209/2 | HH | 203/209 | noma | 85/209 | | | 13 | 8 |
| 10. 'YAN DARA | 161/2 | HL | 160/161 | dara | 40/161 | | | 35 | 34 |
| 11. 'YAN MAKARANTA | 184/2 | LH/FH | 177/186 | (kyuya | 27/186) | manya | 82/186 | 28 | 23 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Group 3 | | | | | | | | |
| 12. ADO BAYERO | 72/5 | HL | 71/72 | | Kano | 68/72 | 4 | 3 |
| 13. CIBIYA II | 121/2 | HH | 117/121 | | Pron. na | 95/121 | 14 | 11 |
| 14. HAJI | 113/5 | LH | 109/113 | (wasa - ) | Neg. ba | 102/113 | 3 | 3 |
| 15. KAFIYYA | 254/2 | HL/FL | 253/254 | | Pron. ka | 226/254 | 11 | 11 |
| 16. TUBA I | 79/2 | LHH | 70/79 | | Neg. ba | 58/79 | 2 | 2 |
| 17. TUBA II | 251/2 | LHH | 213/251 | | Neg. ba | 212/251 | 5 | 2 |
| 18. YARO | 81/5 | LH | 77/81 | | Neg. ba | 58/81 | 4 | 4 |
| Group 4 | | | | | | | | |
| 19. GULURI | 47/5 | LH | 45/47 | | Azare | 23/47 | 11 | 10 |
| 20. HAUSA II | 37/5 | HL | 35/37 | (harshe - ) | Pron. sa | 7/37 | 18 | 17 |
| 21. KICIBIS A | 221/2 | HL | 208/221 | (soja - ) | Nijeriyya | 48/221 | 52 | 50 |
| 22. TALBIJIN | 30/2 | HL | 28/30 | (talbijin - ) | mana | 20/30 | 8 | 6 |

TABLE 3/2: (Continued)

| | Poem | | TPR | Freq. | Relevant Title-word: Title-word | Relevant Title-word: Freq. as R-word | Relevant Theme-word: Theme-word | Relevant Theme-word: Freq. as R-word | Total R-words: R-words in total | Total R-words: R-words with TPR |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Group 5 | | | | | | | | | |
| 23. | INKWARIYA | 23/5 | HLH | 21/23 | - | | - | | 20 | 18 |
| 24. | JUMHURIYA II | 73/5 | HLH/FH | 71/73 | - | | - | | 45 | 43 |
| 25. | KADAURA | 87/2 | HLH/FH | 85/87 | - | | - | | | |
| 26. | MARABA | 50/2 | bL | 47/50 | - | | - | | | |
| 27. | 'YAR GAGARA I | 111/2 | HHH | 110/111 | - | | - | | | |
| 28. | ZALUNCI | 25/5 | HHL | 23/25 | - | | - | | | |

3:1.3. Majority tonal running rhyme (or TPR major)

In the third and last category, there are 20 poems with a consistent tonal patterning in at least the majority of their (segmental) running rhyme positions. These 20 poems fall into four groups as follows (see Table 3/3 for further details).

The first group consists of four poems (1 in quintains, 3 in couplets) in which the TPR is the same as the tone pattern or final tone sequence of a title-word that is a predominant running rhyme-word (predominant in that it is the most frequent).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | .GORA: LH/FH | (3) | KICIBIS B: HH |
| (2) | HAUSA I: HH | (4) | USMAN: HH |

In KICIBIS B, the last High of its major HH is predictable from the fact that the Negative ba occurs as the running rhyme-word in 64 out of its 84 couplets, and it is worth mentioning that two other rhyme-words which are disyllabic (jaba and tuba) contribute to the H in 66 positions. In the preceding syllable, however, the High tone which is not predictable, occurs also in 66 positions (including these two disyllabic words), thus giving a HH TPR for the poem. More important, however, is the fact that KICIBIS B, with its HH in 66 out of 84 verses, is in contrast to KICIBIS A, which as was noted earlier has a HL TPR in over 90 per cent of its couplets (i.e. in 208 out of 221). One major outcome of this contrast in the TPR between the two texts, is that, in addition to the difference in the titles and the segmental rhyme systems, tonal rhyme here serves to further distinguish the two poems though as noted in Chapter 3 the two are thematically and metrically one poem.

In the second group, there are 8 poems whose TPR is the same as the

tone pattern or final tone sequence of a title-word that is a frequent running rhyme-word. Two of these eight poems are in quintains, the rest in couplets:

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | DUNIYA: | HL | (5) | SANIYA: | HLH |
| (2) | KADUNA: | HH | (6) | SANSAN: | HH |
| (3) | NA'IBI: | HLH | (7) | SOMI: | HH |
| (4) | SANI: | HH | (8) | TAURARO: | HL |

In NA'IBI, the major HLH (trisyllabic) TPR is an extension of a predominant (disyllabic) LH as seen above (in 3.1.2).

The third group comprises six poems whose TPR is the same as the TP or final tone sequence of a theme-word that occurs as a predominant rhyme-word. One of them is in quintains, the rest in couplets.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | CIBIYA I: | HH | (4) | NAIRA: | HL |
| (2) | FAILA: | LHH | (5) | NASIHA: | HL |
| (3) | GASKIYA: | HL | (6) | 'YAR FILANI: | LH |

The fourth and last group consists of two poems with only internal but no running (segmental) rhyme but in which there is nevertheless a major TPR. FILLORI has HLH in 60 out of its total 110 lines and NAJERIYA has LHL in 264 out of its total 320 lines. The trisyllabic TPR of FILLORI is an extension of its completely regular (disyllabic) TPR in LH, and that of NAJERIYA is also an extension of its regular HL.

Thus this third category of 20 poems is similar to the second category (of 28 poems) in that most of them have a noticeable correlation between the major TPR and the TP or final tone sequence of a key title-word or theme-word that occurs frequently as the rhyme-word, and that in this last group this is not the case since there is no running rhyme-word though a major TPR is still present. Again, as with the second category

and as the last columns of Table 3/3 indicate, there is, in addition to the frequent rhyme-word, a good proportion of other rhyme-words having the same TP as the TPR, thus contributing to its degree of consistency in the poem even while it also achieves segmental rhyme-word variation.

TABLE 3/3: Majority Tonal Running Rhyme (i.e. between 50 and 89 per cent)

| Poem | | TPR | Freq. | Relevant title-word: T-word | Freq. as R-word | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Group 1** | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. GORA | 101/2 | LH/FH | 84/101 | Pron. ta | 58/101 | | | 22 | 22 |
| 2. HAUSA I | 86/2 | HH | 65/86 | Hausa | 29/86 | | | 34 | 19 |
| 3. KICIBIS B | 84/2 | HH | 66/84 | Neg. ba | 64/84 | | | 3 | 3 |
| 4. USMAN | 29/5 | HH | 22/29 | Tijani | 15/29 | | | 12 | 9 |
| **Group 2** | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. DUNIYA | 136/5 | HL | 53%/36 | duniya | 43/136 | | | 41 | 11 |
| 6. KADUNA | 229/2 | HH | 140/229 | Kaduna | 102/229 | | | 20 | 11 |
| 7. NA'IBI | 52/2 | HLH/FH | 46/52 | Na'ibi | 19/52 | | | 15 | 15 |
| 8. SANI | 50/2 | HH | 35/50 | (Sani | 7/50) | Pron. ni | 27/50 | 19 | 10 |
| 9. SANIYA | 68/2 | HLH | 58/68 | Saniya | 18/68 | | | 33 | 25 |
| 10. SANSAN | 263/2 | HH | 203/263 | kidaya | 76/263 | | | 48 | 44 |
| 11. SONI | 55/2 | HH | 44/55 | makaranta | 16/55 | | | 17 | 11 |
| 12. TAURARO | 27/5 | HL | 18/27 | zamani | 5/27 | | | 16 | 7 |

Group 3

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13. CIBIYA I | 50/2 | HH | 36/50 | (wanka | -) | Pron. ni | 29/50 | 15 | 9 |
| 14. FAILA | 83/2 | LHH | 60/83 | | | Pron. ni | 34/83 | 24 | 15 |
| 15. GASKIYA | 203/2 | HL | 142/203 | | | Nijeriya | 71/203 | 46 | 20 |
| 16. NASIHA | 66/2 | HL | 45/66 | (Nasiha | -) | jiya | 10/66 | 34 | 22 |
| 17. 'YAR FILANI | 25/5 | LH | 19/25 | (Filani | -) | tsiya | 7/25 | 15 | 9 |

Group 4

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18. FILLORI | 55/2 | HLH | 60/110 | - | | - | - | - | - |
| 19. NAJERIYA | 264/5 | LHL | 264/320 | - | | - | | | |

## 3.2. Tonal Internal Rhyme

A random selection of 43 poems (over half the corpus) was studied in depth for tonal internal rhyme. All but two of these were found to have a tonal internal rhyme pattern (TPr) in a significant proportion of their segmental internal rhyme positions. The two exceptions are 'YAR GAGARA I, which is in non-rhyming couplets, and DUNIYA, which is in quintains.

The 41 poems which have a consistent TPr in a significant proportion of the last few syllables of their " stanza-internal" lines (i.e. in all lines in any stanza but the last), include 29 poems in quintains and one in quatrains - both being stanzaic forms which typically have internal as well as running (segmental) rhyme; but in addition there are 11 poems in couplets, which is a stanzaic form that typically has no segmental internal rhyme but only running rhyme, and in fact the only couplet poem with internal (segmental) rhyme, FILLORI, is one of these poems with a significant TPr. The majority of these 41 poems have a tonal internal rhyme pattern that corresponds more or less exactly to their tonal running rhyme pattern (i.e. TPr = TPR), and as was the case with the TPR, here too the poems fall into three categories according to whether they have a consistent TPr in all, in nearly all, or simply in the majority of their segmental internal rhyme positions. The first category contains four poems, the second 24 poems, and the third 13 poems as described below.

### 3.2.1. Regular tonal internal rhyme

The four poems which have a TPr regularly throughout are all in quintains, and all of them have a regular tonal running rhyme pattern as described earlier in 3.1 above. Thus in BAKI 3, which has a regular TPR in HHL corresponding to its constant running rhyme-word, the TPr is HL, which is the same as the pattern for the Syll-y and Syll-z (though not

the Syll-x) of the poem's TPR. Thus the constant running rhyme-word, which is also a key title-word of the poem, is in this sense essentially copied by the tonal internal rhyme pattern, which is regular. In MAULIDI I, the regular HL for the TPr, which is the pattern of a title-word, is exactly the same as the regular TPR which is HL. In NAJERIYA, which is in (segmental) internally rhyming quintains, the regular TPr, which is the same as the title-word, is the same as the TPR, which is regularly HL. In the fourth poem in this category, AMSA, however, the regular TPr is different from the TPR. This TPR is HH, which corresponds to the pattern of the theme-word, but the TPr in this poem is HL or FL which corresponds to the pattern of the key title-word amsa, though in fact this does not appear in either the segmental running rhyme or in the internal rhyme. Thus, of the 4 poems in which the TPr is regular, three have a pattern that corresponds closely or exactly to the TPR, which is regular and the same as the TP of a key-title-word; while in one it is different. These facts are summarized in the list below, where the reference title of the poem is given followed in brackets by its TPR (reg. referring to its regularity) and a raised $^{t}$ or $^{th}$ to indicate whether the TPR is the same as the tone pattern or final tone sequence of a title- or theme-word of the particular poem. These are then followed by the TPr whose relationship to the TPR is shown by = if they closely or exactly correspond and ≠ if they differ, again with a raised $^{t}$ or $^{th}$ to indicate that the TPr is the same as the TP of a title- or theme-word of the poem.

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | BAKI 3 | (HHL | reg.) | $^{t}$ | = | HL |
| (2) | MAULIDI I | (HL | reg.) | $^{t}$ | = | HL |
| (3) | NAJERIYA | (HL | reg.) | $^{t}$ | = | HL |
| (4) | AMSA | (HH | reg.) | $^{th}$ | ≠ | $^{t}$HL /FL |

### 3.2.2. Predominant tonal internal rhyme

The second category consists of 24 poems in which the TPr is consistent in nearly all positions. Sixteen of these poems are in quintains and eight in couplets. In 19 of the total 24 poems (14 in quintains, 5 in couplets), the almost regular TPr is essentially the same as the TPR, while in the remaining five poems (2 in quintains, 3 in couplets) it is different. In the listing below, which summarizes these various subgroupings, the degree of the consistency of the TPR is recalled by reg. if it is regular, predom. if predominant, and maj. if it is simply in the majority.

(a) TPr = TPR: 19 poems

(i) 14 in quintains:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | MAULIDI III | (HLH reg.)$^{th}$ | = | HLH |
| (2) | AFIRKA | (LHL predom.)$^{t}$ | = | LHL |
| (3) | NAJERIYA | (HL reg.$^{t}$; LHL maj.) | = | LHL |
| (4) | ISRA'I | (LHL reg.)$^{t,th}$ | = | HL |
| (5) | ZALUNCI | (HL reg.; HHL predom.) | = | HL |
| (6) | DAMINA | (HL reg.)$^{t,th}$ | = | HL |
| (7) | SOJA | (HL reg.)$^{th}$ | = | HL |
| (8) | ADO BAYERO | (HL predom.)$^{th}$ | = | HL |
| (9) | AL'ADU | (HL predom.)$^{t}$ | = | HL |
| (10) | HAUSA II | (HL predom.)$^{t,th}$ | = | HL |
| (11) | CUTA | (LH reg.)$^{t,th}$ | = | LH |
| (12) | GUZURI | (LH predom.)$^{th}$ | = | LH |
| (13) | HAJI | (LH predom.)$^{t,th}$ | = | LH |
| (14) | YARO | (LH predom.)$^{t,th}$ | = | LH |

(ii) 5 in couplets

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | MARABA | (HL predom.) | = | HL |
| (2) | JAKADIYA | (HLH $reg.)^{t}$ | = | LH |
| (3) | SAKO | (LH $reg.)^{t}$ | = | LH |
| (4) | FILLORI | (LH $reg.)^{t}$ | = | LH |
| (5) | KALUBALE | (LH $reg.)^{t}$ | = | LH |

(b) TPr ≠ TPR: 5 poems

(i) 2 in quintains:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | JIHAR KANO | (HH $reg.)^{t}$ | ≠ | LHL |
| (2) | KOKO | (HH $reg.)^{th}$ | ≠ | LHL |

(ii) 3 in couplets:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | FAILA | (LHH maj.) | ≠ | $HL^{t}$ |
| (2) | TUBA I | (HH $reg.^{t}$ ; LHH predom.) | ≠ | LHL |
| (3) | TUBA II | (HH $reg.^{t}$ ; LHH predom.) | ≠ | LHL |

3.2.3. Tonal internal rhyme in the majority

Besides the four poems with a regular TPr, and the 24 with an almost regular TPr, there is the third category of 13 poems in which there is a consistent TPr simply in a majority of their internal rhyme positions. Of these 13 poems - eight in quintains, one in quatrains, and four in couplets - all but three have a major TPr which corresponds closely or exactly to their TPR.

The first exception in this regard is the quintain poem AURE whose TPr is HL but whose TPR is regularly HH (though in 38% of the internal rhyme positions there is a HH TPr). The second is the quatrain poem JIYA, whose TPr is LHL in the majority of its internal rhyme positions but whose TPR is regularly HH. The third is USMAN with a LHL TPr but a HH TPR.

Apart from these three exceptions, all the poems in this category have a major TPr which corresponds closely or exactly to their TPR as listed below.

(i) 6 quintain poems:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | RIJIYA | (HLH reg.)$^{t}$ | = | HLH |
| (2) | INKWARIYA | (LH reg.;HLH predom.) | = | HLH |
| (3) | JUMHURIYA I | (HL reg.) | = | HL |
| (4) | MAULIDI II | (HL reg.)$^{t}$ | = | HL |
| (5) | TAURARO | (HL maj.)$^{t}$ | = | HL |
| (6) | JUMHURIYA | (LH/FH reg.;HLH/FH predom.) | = | LH |

(ii) 4 couplet poems:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | FILLORI | (LH reg.$^{t}$;HLH maj.) | = | LLH |
| (2) | INUWA | (LHL reg.)$^{t}$ | = | LHL |
| (3) | KADAURA | (HLH/FH predom.) | = | LH/PH |
| (4) | SANIYA | (HLH maj.)$^{t}$ | = | HLH/FLF |

It is worth noting here that among the four couplet poems listed above, FILLORI has a LLH TPr which includes both its regular LH TPR and the Syll-y and Syll-z of its predominant HLH TPR; but when this trisyllabic HLH TPR is compared with its equally trisyllabic LLH TPr, the patterns differ, and for this reason the poem may be grouped among the exceptions to the general tendency for the poems in this category to have a TPr that corresponds to the TPR. More important is the fact that the LLH TPr is exactly the same as the TP of the key title-word Fillori which, however, does not occur either as a running or internal rhyme-word, while the two TPR patterns (LH and HLH) correspond only partially to the TP of this word. Thus, in this case a major tonal internal rhyme pattern

is clearly more accurately associated with the title of a poem than either its regular or its predominant tonal running rhyme patterns.

From the foregoing two sections, a clear impression emerges of a deliberate attempt on the poet's part to achieve regularity in tonal patterning at the ends of his poetic lines, thus resulting in tonal rhyme. This tonal rhyme is clearly a stylistic device that is as much a matter of phonological parallelism as segmental rhyme or metre; and we have also seen that, by echoing the tones of a key theme-word or a word in the title, it often serves the function of highlighting the poem's theme, thus providing a clear link between it and the text of the poem. That tonal rhyme is an important feature of poetic structure in Akilu Aliyu is attested by the fact that 73 poems in our corpus (of 79) have a tonal running rhyme in a significant proportion of their segmental running rhyme positions and that 41 poems (i.e. over half the corpus) have a tonal internal rhyme in a significant proportion of their segmental internal rhyme positions - even though some of the poems have no segmental rhyme counterpart in such positions. It has finally, been shown that unlike segmental rhyme which is typically confined to the very last syllable of the poetic line (in Waka II generally), tonal rhyme includes but goes beyond this final syllable to cover the penultimate and sometimes also the ante-penultimate syllables.

### 3.3. A comparison with other poets

Although detailed study has not been made with regard to tonal rhyme in Hausa poems by other authors, the impression one gets from even a cursory glance is that tonal rhyme is a principle of Hausa poetics no less important than segmental is in the literate verse. This impression can be confirmed by the following two kinds of evidence.

In the first place, our corpus itself provides indirect but strong evidence of the presence of tonal rhyme in other Hausa poetry and its significance in Hausa verse in general.

For Waka II, for instance, there are two poems in our corpus which are based on other Waka II compositions (see Chapter III, below). Shehu Alkanci's 'Wasika Ta Sha'irci', to which Akilu's AMSA is a rejoinder, has the same metrical pattern, the same segmental running rhyme (see Chapter II), and, more important here, the same tonal running rhyme pattern HH in a significant proportion (i.e. at least 50%) of its relevant (fifth) lines. Secondly, Sa'adu Zungur's 'Addakari' (or at least the 62 couplets of it published in Arnott and Hiskett, 1975) has a TPR in HH in a majority of its (second) lines, and Akilu's INWARIYA, which is based on it, has also a (regular) LH. This TPR,moreover, is the same as the TP or final tone sequence of the refrain of the Waka I piece ('Talakka') which is the thematic and rhythmical source of the two Waka II compositions (see Chapter IV).

Even more significant, there are 12 Waka I compositions which serve as the rhythmical models for 18 poems from our corpus with a significant TPR which is the same as the TP or final tone sequence of the last word(s) of the refrain and/or text-lines of the Waka I originals which provide the poet with his metrical cue. This frequency of the correspondence between Waka II and the Waka I suggests that it is not simply a coincidence but underlines the significance of such tonal patterning, particularly since the refrain of a Waka I often provides the rhythmic and, as here, also the tonal basis for the song itself. The rhythmical relationships between Waka II and Waka I are treated in detail in the fourth chapter on prosodic rhythm; and it is sufficient here to list our Waka II poems, their TPR and the Waka I with some of their relevant

details:

1. (i) AL'ADU, (ii) DAMINA, (iii) MAULIDI II, (iv) SOJA: HL =
Hajiya Faji's love-song e.g.
Tun kana ciki na so ka,
Ka fito waje ka ƙi ni.

2. AURE: HH = Shata's 'Don Sallah...'
e.g. refrain: Don Sallah da Salatil Fatih,
Don Allah mata ku yi aure.

3. (i) BANGO, (ii) MAZAJE, (iii) UMMARA: HL = Anon. (Daura court song), e.g. refrain:
Mai Kazaure gami da Daura
Ummaru Allah shi bar ka, mai duniya.

4. BEGE: LH = Anon.: 'Masoyina annabina'

5. FAILA: HH = either Girl's song e.g.
Wayyo ni wayyo ni
Wayyo ni icen marke;
or Folktale song e.g.
Sama dai iccen maraya
Sama dai iccen ƙoƈsai.

6. ISRA'I: HHL = HL, Shata's 'Bakandamiya', e.g. refrain:
Alo alo, mai ganga ya gode
Yaran mai ganga sun gode.

7. (i) JIHAR KANO, (ii) KOKO: HH = Shatas 'Magaji...', e.g. refrain:
Magaji mai ido ɗaya

8. KAFIYYA: HL = Anon. e.g.

Ku daina ƙarya, Ku daina lalata,

Mai akwai ya takaici mai babu.

9. MARABA. This has a one-word refrain (shugaba) with LLH, which is the same as the LLH of the one-word refrain (malamai) of the Anon. 'Barka'. The TPR of the poem is HL, which is the same as the text-lines of the song as in the lines:

Barkanmu da Sallah

" " gode Allah, etc.

10. MAULIDI I: HL = Anon. 'Shera' e.g.

Shera ɗan Gobirawa zumun lalle.

11. RIJIYA: HLH = Shata's 'Idi na Tajo', e.g. refrain:

Idi na Tajo mai saniya.

12. 'YAR FILANI: LH = Shata's 'Yar Filani', e.g. refrain:

'Yar Filani yawren yawre

Allah magani.

Secondly, and more directly, some Waka II authors have in certain of their compositions a TPR which is consistent in a significant proportion of their relevant positions, as follows.

There are of course the cases of poems with a single, constant running rhyme-word which predetermines their regular TPR (as is the case in two of Akilu's poems), e.g. 'Tabban Hakikan' by Isa ɗan Shehu, 'Mu Sha Falala' by Aliyu ɗan Sidi, 'Wakar Damina' by Naibi Wali, 'Furen Kanshi' by Mudi Sipikin, 'Birnin Kano' by Bello Sakkwato, and 'Wakar Zamani' by Aminu Kano. Related to these are those poems with a

predominant running rhyme-word which accounts for the consistent TPR in at least the great majority of its positions; examples of these being Sa'adu Zungur's 'Bidi'a' and Mu'azu Haɗeja's 'Giya'. More interesting and significant, is the case of Aliyu Namangi's Nuniyatul Amdahi, where the possessive pronoun -na is the most frequent running rhyme but where the TPR is HHH in all but five of the poem's 150 couplets. Finally, in other cases where there is no frequent running rhyme-word to account partially or wholly for a significant TPR, there are Gangar Wa'azu, which has no segmental rhyme at all but has a TPR in HL in at least the majority (of its segmental running rhyme positions); Bagauda, with LH/FH, Sa'adu Zungur's 'Maraba da Soja' with LH/FH, his 'Arewa Jumhuriya...' with HL; Mu'azu Haɗeja's 'Yabon Ubangiji' with HL, his 'Tutocin Shehu...' with HH; and Salihu Kontagora's 'Zalunci' and 'Munafunci...', both with HL in at least the majority of their running rhyme positions. In Sa'adu's 'Maraba da Soja', there is also a TPr in HL in the majority of its internal rhyme positions, a TPr that is in contrast with its LH/FH TPR. On the other hand, however, in his ''Yan Baka', as well for that matter as in Hamisu Yadudu Funtuwa's 'Uwar Mugu', there is no significant tonal rhyme pattern.

### 3.4. Summary

The foregoing examples suggest that tonal rhyme is a not an insignificant feature of Hausa Verse, both oral and written, although the extent and regularity of this remain to be investigated. But the earlier sections of this chapter clearly demonstrate Aƙilu Aliyu's extraordinarily skilful® and obviously deliberate manipulation of tone to achieve a significant degree of tonal rhyme in his poetry.

## Chapter IV: PROSODIC RHYTHM

### 4.0. Introduction

While the preceding two chapters were concerned with segmental and tonal rhyme, the aim in the present chapter is to describe the nature and significance of the metrical and rhythmic features of Aƙilu Aliyu's poems with some reference to Hausa poetry in general.

Earlier (in I.2) reference has been made to the tendency in some Hausa Waka II compositions to have Arabic-type metres (since in either language quantity is the basic prosodic element), while others draw on the rythmic metres of Hausa Waka I as their prosodic models. The relationship between Arabic prosody, which has a long and living tradition, and Hausa prosody, which, though very much alive has hardly begun as a science, is a complex and fascinating subject that deserves full-scale investigation in its own right; it is, for instance, likely to throw valuable light not only on the nature and extent of the influence of Arabic on Hausa metrics, which is at present somewhat uncertain but also on the wider question of interrelationship between poetic metre as an abstract concept in literary criticism and the various modes of performance - from normal speech-like reading, through recitation and chanting, to singing with musical accompaniment - which apparently form a continuum in which poetry overlaps with music. This, however, is outside the scope of this thesis, and the present chapter primarily describes and briefly discusses prosodic rhythm in our poetic corpus from a literary viewpoint. In doing so, it has been found convenient to approach the corpus from two different angles, firstly in relation to Arabic prosodic patterns and secondly in relation to Hausa prosodic patterns.

Before presenting the summaries of the analyses, however, it is to be noted at the outset that of the 79 poems in our corpus studied for

their prosodic structures, all have a metrical pattern that is to a very large extent regular, with an overall metrical consistency that is generally higher than in many other comparable Hausa Waka II texts. Where there exists a noticeable irregularity in an Akilu Aliyu poem, this invariably has to do with poems that are metrically based on Waka I rhythms which, as Greenberg (1949) has rightly pointed out, tend to be metrically less regular, at least in their line initial portions, than Waka II texts. It should also be borne in mind that Hausa prosody being basically quantitative as Arabic, the metrical patterns of poems are analyzed in terms of long and short syllables, for which the generally accepted symbols v (for short) and - (for long) are used in scansion.

## 4.1. First Approach

In relation to this first approach, which examines Akilu Aliyu's poems from the point of view of their similarity or otherwise to Arabic metres, a few comments are necessary. As modern Hausa poets are generally not conversant with the details of Arabic prosody (cf. Arnott, 1968, Skinner et al, 1973), the value of this first procedure is mainly to show that scansion often reveals similarities between Hausa poems and Arabic, though at this stage it is impossible to know whether this was a deliberate intention of the poet at the time of composition. On the other hand, because of the self-evidently strong influence of the Arabic language on Hausa, and of Islam on many areas of Hausa life including literary education (cf. Greenberg, 1946), many modern Hausa poets - including Akilu Aliyu - are very well acquainted with Arabic poetry, especially religions Arabic poetry which they can quote from at some length and whose metrical shapes they have grasped at least in its outlines. This being the case, it would not be surprising if in composing their own poems, Hausa poets were at least in some instances to base them

on the rhythm of some or other Arabic poem.

Of the 79 poems in our corpus, then, 63 can be scanned according to Arabic-type metres with more or less deviation , while the remaining 16 cannot. Among the 63, however, only 39 have metrical patterns that correspond closely to classical Arabic metres, the case of the other 24 which only roughly correspond to the classical metres being debatable. As the following lists indicate, each of the 39 poems, as scanned, closely corresponds to one of seven standard Arabic metres.

A. Close correspondence to Arabic-type metres: 39 poems

1. KAMIL: 13 Poems, all except one in couplets:

(a) Trimeter (acatalectic): vv _v_ / vv _v_ / vv _v_: 1 poem, in quintains

(1) MURTALA

(b) Trimeter catalectic: vv _v_ / vv _v_ / vv _ _: 7 poems, in couplets

(1) CIBIYA I

(2) CIBIYA II

(3) HAUSA I

(4) KADAURA

(5) KAIKAI

(6) SANI

(7) SOMI

(c) Trimeter catalectic in final line: 2 poems, in couplets

(1) IBRAHIMA

(2) 'YAN DARA

(d) Dimeter: vv _v_ / vv _v_: 3 poems, in couplets

(1) CI GABA

(2) NA'IBI

(3) SAKO

These patterns for Kamil are the regular Arabic patterns and are very consistent throughout the poems; and there is not the v_v_ variant for the first foot found in some poems by other authors (e.g. Na'ibi Wali's 'Maraba da 'Yanci'). The only few cases of deviation found are more apparent than real:

(a) the resolution of the final syllable of the first foot once in HAUSA I (v. 64 b) with the pattern _ _vvv / vv _v_ / _ _ _ (In ban da Arabi ina misalin Hausa), is actually performed by the poet as _ _v_ / vv _v_ / _ _ _, thus making Arabi into Arbi and avoiding the resolution; similarly, in HAUSA I (vv. 33a and 45a) zamto which in normal speech is _ _, giving _ _ _ _ in the first foot twice, is performed as _ v; and (b) in KADAURA (52a and 53a) where ba a in In ba a gasa would normally be scanned as _ v v v _, is coalesced into one long syllable _ _v_ in the poet's performance.

Note must also be taken of the fact that the only poem in the Kamil tetrameter acatalectic, among the 13 in the group, is also the only one in quintains in the group. Significantly, this poem, MURTALA, is the only example of an elegy in the whole corpus.

2. WAFIR: 7 poems

(a) Trimeter catalectic: v_ vv _ / v_ _ _: 6 poems

(1) ADO SANUSI )
(2) HASKE )
(3) KADUNA I ) in couplets
(4) KADUNA II )
(5) SANSAN )
(6) USMAN in quintains

(b) Dimeter: v_ vv _ / v_ vv _ : 1 poem

(1) AMSA in quintains

The trimeter, which is the regular Arabic pattern, is consistent throughout the poems. The Dimeter is also a regular Arabic pattern, but in Akilu Aliyu the pattern v_ _ _ for the second foot is far more frequent than v_ vv_. The latter occurs in the last foot of only 26 of the total 205 lines of AMSA, and only once in the final line of a stanza, where v_ _ _ preponderates by 40:1.

3. MUTADARIK: 6 poems

(a) Tetrameter: vv _ / vv _ / vv _ : 1 poem in quintains

(1) INKWARIYA

(b) Tetrameter catalectic: vv _ / vv _ / vv _ / v _ : 4 poems in couplets

(1) NAIRA

(2) SANIYA

(3) TALBIJIN

(4) KALUBALE: v_ / vv _ / vv _ / v_

(c) Trimeter catalectic: vv _ / vv _ / v_: 1 poem in quintains

(1) ADO BAYERO

The patterns are consistent throughout. The Tetrameter - a "rarer and later metre" (Wright, p. 365) - is the regular Arabic pattern. The tetrameter catalectic is not a normal Arabic pattern, but this seems the most appropriate way of analyzing this metre. The poet does not use _v_ in the first foot, which is quite common in modern Hausa verse (e.g. Sa'adu Zungur's 'Arewa Jumhuriya ...'). KALUBALE differs from the others in having v_ regularly in the first foot, which is found in other authors' poems only as an occasional variant. The unusualness of this might perhaps incline one to remove this poem from this first group (with close correspondence to Arabic metres) to the second group where the correspondence is debatable.

4. RAJAZ: 6 poems

(a) Dimeter: 4 poems: $\underline{v}\ \_\ v\ \_\ /\ \underline{v}\ \_\ v\ \_$ / $\_\ v\ v\ \_$ / $\_\ v\ v\ \_$

(1) JIHAR KANO : $v\ \_\ v\ \_\ /\ \begin{matrix}v\ \_\ v\ \_\\ \_\ v\ v\ \_\end{matrix}$ ) in quintains

(2) KOKO : $\underline{v}\ \_\ v\ \_\ /\ \begin{matrix}v\ \_\ v\ \_\\ \_\ v\ v\ \_\end{matrix}$ )

(3) TAKA : $\_\ \_\ v\ \_\ /\ v\ \_\ v\ \_$ ) in couplets

(4) TUNKU : $\begin{matrix}\underline{v}\ \_\ v\ \_\\ v\ v\ \_\end{matrix}$ / $\_\ v\ v\ \_$ )

(b) Dimeter catalectic: 2 poems in quintains: $\underline{v}\ \_\ v\ \_\ /$ / $\underline{v}\ \_\ \_$

(1) JUMHURIYA II: $\begin{matrix}v\ \_\ v\ \_\\ \_\ v\ v\ \_\end{matrix}$ / $\_\ \_\ \_$

(2) NAJERIYA : $\_\ \_\ v\ \_\ /\ v\ \_\ \_$

The Rajaz metre, according to Wright, has various possibilities; but it is noticeable that Akilu Aliyu uses a more restricted range of variants. Thus the first foot of JIHAR KANO has only v _ v _ , the second foot of TAKA and TUNKU has only _ v v _ ; while in the remaining foot in each poem no more than two variations are used: viz.

v _ v _ and _ v v _ in the first foot of KOKO and TUNKU

_ _ v _ and _ v v _ in the first foot of TAKA, and

v _ v _ and _ v v _ in the second foot of JIHAR KANO.

All the poems, it may be noted, have a segmental running rhyme, not the internal rhyme only pattern which was not uncommonly associated with Arabic poems in the Rajaz metre.

5. RAMAL: 3 poems

(a) Dimeter: _ v _ vv / _ v _ _ : 2 poems

(1) JIHA 12 - in quintains

(2) JIYA - in quatrains

(b) Dimeter catalectic: _ v _ vv / _ v _ : 1 poem

(1) DUNIYA - in quintains

The Arabic pattern is normally _ v _ _ / _ v (–), but the resolution into two shorts of the last syllable of the first foot is very common in Hausa poems in this metre. Within this pattern, the 3 poems are metrically consistent throughout.

6. MUTAQARIB: 2 poems

(a) Tetrameter: v _ v / v _ _ / v _ _ / v _ _

(1) INUWA in couplets

(b) Trimeter: 1 poem in quintains

(1) AFIRKA: v _ v / v _ _ / v _ _

The Tetrameter is the more normal in Arabic, (the Trimeter is not mentioned in Wright), but in both cases there is consistency throughout; noticeably the common alternative of v _ v for v _ _ is not used in the middle foot, nor does Akilu use the catalexis which is so freely used in this metre by other Hausa poets.

7. BASIT: 2 poems

(a) Tetrameter: v _ v _ / v v _ / v _ v _ / v v _ : 1 poem in quintains

(1) TAURARO: $\overset{v}{vv}$ _ v _ / v v _ / v _ v _ / vv _

(b) Trimeter: 1 poem in couplets

(1) GASKIYA: v _ v _ / vv _ / vv _ v _

The Arabic pattern for the tetrameter is $\underline{v}$ _ v _ / $\underline{v}$ _ v _ / v v _ , but the resolution of the first long syllable into two shorts is a common feature of Hausa use of this metre.

It is to be noted that in the scansion of metrical patterns, the last syllable of a metrical line is always shown as long whether in speech it is long or short. This procedure accords with the fact that both in the Ajami texts and in the performance of the poems, the poet, like many Hausa poets, makes this last syllable long. The speech-length of this syllable is actually short in some cases, e.g. in the 29 occurrences of the titleword Hausa in HAUSA I, but the distinction in Hausa poetry, as for that matter in Arabic poetry, is immaterial for prosodic analysis. This explains how in Kāmil, for instance, the dropping of the last syllable of _ _ v _ (strictly _ _ v $\underline{v}$) results in the catalectic pattern _ _ _ (strictly _ _ $\underline{v}$), and in Mutadārik the dropping of the last syllable of v v $\underline{v}$ produces v $\underline{v}$. Having noted this, it will be apparent that Akilu shows a predilection for heavy endings in these poems. This fact is observable in the case of the Kāmil catalectic ($\underline{vv}$ _ _ in 9 poems) as well as in Wāfir dimeter (v _ _ _ ), Ramal dimeter ( _ _ ) and Rajaz dimeter catalectic ( _ _ ).

The remarkable consistency of patterns in these poems, and the fact that the full range of possible variations is not always used, leads to the conclusion that Akilu Aliyu, like most other Hausa poets, composes on the basis of a familiar rhythm rather than according to formulaic prosodic rules. Equally significantly and more specifically, it emphasizes his individual skill in fitting what he wants to say into the straitjacket of a restrictive metrical pattern, sometimes with, but often without the manipulation of normal linguistic usage.

It is appropriate at this stage to make certain summary observations regarding Aƙilu's employment and handling of metrical patterns that coincide exactly or closely with Arabic metres with special reference to other Hausa poets' practice. In doing so our corpus of 79 poems (the AA corpus) will be compared with figures based on Professor D.W. Arnott's analysis of another corpus (henceforth the DWA corpus) consisting of a random 105 poems by some 35 Hausa poets (see Table 4/1).

The first significant point of contrast lies in the fact that our corpus has only 39 poems, or less than 50 per cent, belonging to this group with close or exact correspondence to Arabic metres; while as many as 92, or about 90 per cent, in the DWA corpus fall in this group. Though it is impossible in either corpus to prove the conscious borrowing of Arabic metres by the Hausa poets, it is clear from these figures that Aƙilu Aliyu is markedly less influenced by Arabic poetic metres than many other Hausa poets. The second noteworthy difference lies in the absence in Aƙilu of the common Arabic metres Tawīl and Khafīf (usually associated with religious poems) each of which is represented by six poems in the DWA corpus. Aƙilu also differs from the other Hausa poets in the relatively rare use he makes of the Mutaqārib metre (2 against 21), on the one hand, and in the relatively greater employment of Wāfir (7 against 3), of Rajaz (6 against 3), and of Ramal (3 against 3), on the other.

The AA corpus is however comparable to the DWA corpus in its high proportion of poems in both Kāmil (13 to 41) and Mutadārik (6 to 16), and in its low occurrence of Basīt (2 to 5).

In matters of detail too, Aƙilu differs from the other Hausa poets (see Table 4/1). His poetry contrasts with the others' in the existence and high occurrence of the Kāmil trimeter pan-catalectic (7 against zero),

the relative rarity both of its trimeter acatalectic (1 against 20) and of its trimeter catalectic in the final line (2 against 17), and a slightly higher proportion of its dimeter (3 against 2). For the Mutadārik metre, Akilu has one poem in the trimeter catalectic while the others have none; and for Wāfir, too, he has six poems in the trimeter catalectic, the others having none; though for the trimeter catalectic variant of this metre he has none while the other group has one poem. For Rajaz, the AA corpus has a higher proportion of both the dimeter (4 against 1), but, on the other hand, it does not have the dimeter with catalexis in the final line (zero against 1). It has the Ramal catalectic (one poem) whereas the DWA corpus does not. For Mutaqārib, it differs both in having the trimeter (1 against zero), and in the relative rarity of the tetrameter (1 against 21). Finally the AA corpus has a higher proportion of the Basīt trimeter (1 against 1) as well as an absence of its variant (zero against 1).

TABLE4/1: Akilu and other Hausa poets: Arabic-type metres

| | AA corpus (39 out of 79 poems) | | | | DWA corpus (35 poets) (92 out of 105 poems) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | totals | 2 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 4 | 5 | totals |
| 1. KĀMIL: | | | | | | | | |
| trimeter | | - | - | 1 | 18 | 1 | 1 | |
| " | | 7 | - | - | - | - | - | |
| " (catalectic | | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | |
| " cf * | | 2 | - | - | 17 | - | 1 | |
| dimeter | | 3 | - | - | 1 | - | 1 | |
| | 13 | 12 | - | 1 | 36 | 1 | 3 | 41 |
| 2. MUTADĀRIK: | | | | | | | | |
| tetrameter | | - | - | 1 | 4 | - | - | |
| " catalectic | | 4 | - | - | 8 | - | 4 | |
| trimeter catalectic | | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | |
| | 6 | 4 | - | 2 | 12 | - | 4 | 16 |
| 3. WĀFIR: | | | | | | | | |
| trimeter catalectic | | 6 | - | - | - | - | - | |
| " variant | | - | - | - | 1 | - | - | |
| dimeter | | - | - | 1 | 1 | - | 1 | |
| | 7 | 6 | - | 1 | 2 | - | 1 | 3 |
| 4. RAJAZ: | | | | | | | | |
| dimeter | | 2 | - | 2 | - | 1 | - | |
| " catalectic | | - | - | 2 | - | - | 1 | |
| " cf * | | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | |
| | 6 | 2 | - | 4 | - | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 5. RAMAL: | | | | | | | | |
| dimeter | | - | 1 | 1 | - | - | 3 | |
| " catalectic | | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | |
| | 3 | - | 1 | 2 | - | - | 3 | 3 |
| 6. MUTAQĀRIB: | | | | | | | | |
| tetrameter | | 1 | - | - | 10 | - | 11 | |
| trimeter | | - | - | 1 | - | - | - | |
| | 2 | 1 | - | 1 | 10 | - | 11 | 21 |
| 7. BASĪT: | | | | | | | | |
| tetrameter | | - | - | 1 | 3 | - | - | |
| trimeter | | 1 | - | - | 1 | - | - | |
| " variant | | - | - | - | - | - | 1 | |
| | 2 | 1 | - | 1 | 4 | - | 1 | 5 |

* cf. = catalectic in stanza-final line

From the foregoing detailed analysis of the metrical patterns of 39 poems, the conclusion can be reached that on prima facie metrical evidence, a little less than half the poems in our corpus are, consciously or unconsciously, based on seven Arabic poetic metres, whereas the remaining 40 poems in the corpus are not. For reasons that will be apparent below where we consider the second approach, however, this conclusion must remain tentative. What is worth emphasizing meanwhile is that this first group of 39 poems have been examined from a purely metrical point of view, and that since the poems do coincide, exactly or very closely, with some Arabic metres, the reference to Arabic prosody has the self-evident value of immense convenience as an analytic and descriptive tool in the metrical classification of the poems. So useful is it, indeed, that the remaining 40 poems can to a large extent be described in terms of the extent of their deviation from Arabic metres.

B. Rough approximation to Arabic-type metres

The second group in this section consists of 24 poems which fall into five major metrical groups as follows:

1. _ vv _ vv _ vv vv : 9 poems

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | AURE | in quintains |
| 2. | ISRA'I | |
| 3. | 'YAR GAGARA II | |
| 4. | ZALUNCI | |
| 5. | DANGATA | in couplets |
| 6. | GORA | |
| 7. | NOMA | |
| 8. | 'YAN MAKARANTA | |
| 9. | 'YAR GAGARA I | |

There is no Arabic metre with this pattern, the nearest possible being

vv __ (instead of the _ vv pattern found here) for each foot of the Standard Mutadārik (which according to Wright, p. 365, is a "rarer and later" metre). Since, however, the pattern is a reversal of the Arabic metre, and is found in many other Hausa poems, it is convenient to analyze it, at least for the moment, in this way and to refer to it as Mutadārik tetrameter reversed, thus: _ vv / _ vv/ __ vv / _ vv

2. (a) x _ vv _ v _ vv _ : 7 poems

1. GUZURI )
2. HAJI ) in quintains
3. YARO )

(b) vv _ vv _ v _ vv _

4. JAKADIYA )
5. KICIBIS (A & B) ) in couplets
6. LEGAS )

(c) v _ vv _ vv _ _ _

7. BAKI 3 in quintains

These variants can to some extent be related to the Arabic Wāfir Dimeter which has the pattern v _ vv _ / v _ vv _. (a) allows a long first syllable regularly as a variant, but though this is not at all uncommon in Hausa poems which otherwise conform to the Wāfir meter, eg. Aliyu ɗan Sidi's 'Mu Sha Falala', (published by Gaskiya Corporation in Wakokin Hausa) it is not allowed in Arabic. (b) has in initial position either a long syllable (as in (a) above) or two shorts, which may be regarded as a resolution of an initial long syllable. As in (a), however, this form of variation is not allowed in the Arabic Wāfir metre. In (c), where the two feet are reversed from their positions in the (b) variant, the relationship to the Arabic Wāfir dimeter is even more distant. These

deviations from the Arabic Wāfir metre, together with the fact that the Wāfir dimeter itself is in Arabic "comparatively rare" (Wright, p. 363) make it unlikely that these 8 poems are based on Arabic metres.

The reference to Wāfir here therefore is more for analytic and descriptive convenience.

3. _ v _ vv vv _ _ : 5 poems

1. AL'ADU )
2. DAMINA )
3. JUMHURIYA I ) in quintains
4. MAULIDI II )
5. SOJA )

This pattern may be compared to the catalectic form of the Arabic Khafīf dimeter catalectic which has _ v _ _ / v _ v _. According to Wright (p. 367), catalexis can occur in the second hemistich, in which case the last foot is by preference v _ _ . The variation from Khafif, if such it is, here consists of (a) the use of catalexis in all lines of a quintain, and (b) the regular use of _ _ _ or its resolved form v v _ _ instead of v _ _.

4. v _ v _ vv _ _ : 2 poems

1. CUTA in quintains
2. MAZA in couplets

This pattern may be compared to the Arabic Rajaz dimeter whose first foot is v _ v _ (or v v v _ ). For the second foot, however, Rajaz dimeter has v v v _ (acatalectic) and v _ _ (catalectic), either of which is a good remove from the pattern in the two poems, where there are three longs

with the possibility of resolution in the first only.

5. _ _ v _ v _ _ v _ : 1 poem

1. RIJIYA in quintains

The nearest Arabic metre to this pattern is Kāmil dimeter which has vv _ v _ / vv _ v _ . The absence of resolution possibilities in the poem, and, more important, the regular presence of an additional medial short syllable between the two feet, together make it extremely unlikely, that the Arabic metre influenced the composition of the poem.

The nature of the variations involved in the foregoing five metrical groups can be summarized as follows:

(1) Reversal

(2) (a) a common variant of the other Hausa poems

(b) a natural extension of (a) with resolution

(c) reversal of (b)

(3) Extension of catalexis + resolution

(4) Extra syllable medially

(5) Resolution of the first syllable of final foot (as in (3)).

2a, 2b, 3 and 5 can perhaps be regarded as minor variations; 4 is a variation not unknown in some Arabic metres (though not usual in Kāmil); 1 and 2(c), however, are major variations and the relationship of them to Arabic metres is much more questionable.

The former variations could perhaps be regarded as adaptations by Akilu Aliyu of Arabic rhythmic patterns, and the latter as innovations exemplifying his inventiveness. But at this stage it is as well to defer judgement on both levels till after consideration of the metrical groups in the second approach.

Besides the first group of 39 poems whose metrical patterns closely correspond to seven standard Arabic metres, and the second group of 24 poems whose 5 major metrical patterns correspond only very approximately to normal Arabic metres, there remain 16 poems in the corpus whose metrical patterns are definitely non-Arabic. Rather than proceed to show how far these too diverge from the Arabic patterns, however, a fresh reconsideration of the corpus will presently be made.

4.2. Second Approach

According to the second approach adopted here, poems are considered from the Hausa (rather than Arabic) metrical point of view. In one sense, the value of this second procedure must be limited, since Hausa prosody, in contrast to Arabic, is scarcely even in its infancy as a science, and since in most cases a literary analysis of Hausa poetry has ultimately to be corroborated or modified by musical analysis. Despite these basic shortcomings, however, it is felt that there are sufficient reasons to warrant giving some attention to the question in this study.

In this second section which examines poems from the point of view of their prosodic correspondence to Hausa Waka I patterns, three major groups are recognised; (A) those for which there is explicit indication by the poet himself of the connection (either within the poems themselves, in performance, or during interviews); (B) those for which there is no such explicit indication but there are nevertheless good reasons for regarding them as Waka I-based, and (C) those whose prosodic patterns are identical with those in either of the two groups (A and B) and are judged by analogy to be similarly based on Waka I.

A. Consciously based on Waka I

This first group contains 8 poems which are consciously based on the rhythmic framework of a Waka I. These 8 poems are, 'KOKO', 'ISRA'I',

'SOJA','RIJIYA', ''YAR FILANI', 'FILLORI', KAFIYYA', and 'MAULIDI I'. One of them, KOKO, has in the first section above been treated among the first group of 39 poems whose patterns conformed closely to Arabic metres. Three others, ISRA'I, SOJA, and RIJIYA have also been treated among the second group of 25 poems whose patterns corresponded only approximately to Arabic metres; and the remaining four belonged to the third group of 15 poems which are metrically non-Arabic. These observations about poems for which the poet himself has given their rhythmic oral models, illustrate the very tentative nature of the first and second groups and in this sense bring into question the validity of the first approach which emphasized the Arabic factor in the poems.

As will be shown, four of the 8 poems are based on the rhythms of four Waka I pieces by the contemporary popular Hausa singer Shata, one on an unknown Hausa singer, two on Hausa womens' songs, and one on the rhythm of an Indian song.

1. ISRA'I (104/5), the religious poem on the Prophet Muhammad's spiritual journey and ascension (isra'i, mi'iraji), has a preface in which Akilu Aliyu states that he composed his poem on the rhythmic framework of the popular singer Mamman Shata's 'Bakandamiya', whose two-line refrain he in fact quotes and performs before quoting and performing his four-line refrain for the poem:

"You often hear Shata saying:

'Alo, alo, mai ganga ya gode,
Yaran mai ganga sun gode
('Good, good, the leading drummer is thankful, and his group are thankful')

"As for (me) Akilu, I say:

'Ni dai nai roko an ba ni,
Wanda nake bege ya ji ni,
Allah, ban fatahi da basira,
In yabi Annabi Baban Zara'"

'As for me, my prayers have been answered - the one I yearn for has heard me. O God, give me inspiration and intelligence to praise the Father of Zara'.

Akilu's 4-line refrain has the summarized metrical pattern

_ vv _ vv _ vv _ v

a pattern which can be described in terms of 8 basic prosodic slots which, except for the last slot which is regarded metrically as long, are regularly either one long or two shorts thus

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

_ vv _ vv _ vv _ _.

Shata's 2-line refrain has the metrical pattern

v _ v _ _ _ _ _ _ _

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

a pattern that is clearly basically similar to Akilu's 8 basic prosodic slots, with the difference that the first 2 slots of the first line have an additional short each and that otherwise the 8 slots are regularly long. Summarized, the two refrains are very comparable:

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shata: | v- | v- | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ | _ |
| Akilu: | _ | vv | _ | vv | _ | vv | _ | _ |

Now, as Akilu's refrain pattern is in fact identical to the pattern throughout the 104 quintains of the text, and since it is also very similar to Shata's refrain pattern, it can be concluded that his ISRA'I

successfully captures the metrical framework of Shata's refrain in his 'Bakandamiya'.

Incidentally, in addition to this close correspondence at the prosodic level, a brief examination of musical evidence further reinforces the close relationship between Akilu's ISRA'I and Shata's 'Bakandamiya', as follows:[1]

The first couplet of Akilu's refrain has the metrical pattern:

– – – – – – – – / – v v – – – – – –

The metrical values of a written version of Shata's refrain would be;

v – v – – – – – – – / – – – – – – – –

But in Akilu's performance of this (as in Shata's own performance) the first syllable of the second alō is elided, so that the metrical values are then;

v – (v) – – – – – – – – / – – – – – – – –

The metrical values of the two refrains are then comparable (allowing for the equivalence of the two shorts to one long in the second line), apart from the extra syllable at the beginning of Shata's refrain, which can be treated as a kind of anacrusis.

In fact in Akilu's performance some of the syllables are shortened, others lengthened, but nevertheless, when analysed in terms of sub-units of duration, the two couplets correspond overall, with each comprising 4 sections of 8 sub-units each:

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1 I am grateful to Dr. A.V. King for the comparative musical analyses of these and other cases, and for his suggestions.

Akilu's refrain

ni dai nai ro-/ko an ba ni / wanda nake be-/ge ya ji ni

2 3 1 2 2 2 2 2 2 1 1 2 2 2 2 2 2

Shata's refrain

Akilu's performance

(a)
a/lo lo mai gan-/ga ya gode / yaran mai gan-/ga sun gode

/ 3 3 1 1 2 2 3 1 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2

The correspondence is underlined by the fact that the melodies of the two refrains, as performed, have an overall resemblance in spite of some differences of detail.

As for the second couplet of Akilu's refrain, the two lines can be summarized as having the metrical pattern

_ vv _ vv _ vv _ _

which corresponds to that of the two lines of the first couplet, given the usual equivalence of two shorts to one long; and the same pattern covers the whole of the 104 quintains of the text. It can be concluded therefore that Akilu's ISRA'I as a whole, both text and refrain, corresponds closely to Shata's refrain in his 'BAKANDAMIYA', and that this justifies the poet's expressed claim that this Waka II composition of his is based on the Waka I by Shata.

2. KOKO (124/5), a religious madahu poem in praise of Muhammad, is explicitly based also on Shata in his song in praise of a local public transport agent 'Magaji Mai Ido Daya' ('Magaji the One-Eyed'). The Shata refrain is the title, sometimes preceded by 'Shumagaban'yan kamasho'('The great leader of public transport agents'). Akilu's poem too has a refrain of two lines:

Shumagaban ai sujada

Rasulu mun yi godiya.

'The Great Leader, most worthy of obeisance,

We are grateful, O Messenger'.

Akilu frequently refers to the Shata song in his poem in a sarcastic manner.

v.4. (a) A yadda raina ya fi so, (b) A maimakon 'yan kamasho,

(c) Yabon Ma'aiki na fi so, (d) Rasulu ke debe haso

(e) Yabonsa, ba Magaji ba.

The way my mind tends, (is that) instead of public transport agents, I prefer to praise the Messenger of God: it is eulogy for the Messenger that removes lonely yearning, not some Magaji'

v.119. (a) Na canja wakar kamasho (b) Da wadda raina ya fi so

(c) Na kore kewa da haso (d) Da ambaton wanda na so

(e) Rasulu ba Magaji ba.

'I have replaced the song on commission agency with one that I much prefer. I have driven away yearning and loneliness by calling upon one I love - the Messenger, not a Magaji'.

It should be recalled that in the first section (4.1), this poem was described in terms of the Arabic Rajaz dimeter with the summarized pattern $\underline{v} \_ v \_ / \underline{v} \_ v \_$ . On the basis of the evidence from the poet's own mouth (as in verse 119a), however, it is necessary to reconsider the implication of that interpretation.

Accordingly, as shown below, it is to be noted that KOKO'S first refrain line has a different pattern from its second refrain line, and

that this is also the case in Shata's first refrain and his second refrain lines. Secondly, KOKO's first refrain line has the same pattern as Shata's first refrain, and its second refrain line is also identical to Shata's second refrain line. This parallel correspondence between Shata's refrain and Akilu's refrain is clearly further supporting evidence that the latter is closely and consciously based on the former:

Shata's first refrain line: _ _ v _ _ v v

KOKO's " " " : v _ v _ _ v v _

Shata's second refrain line: v _ v _ v _ v _

KOKO's " " " : v _ v _ v _ v _

The text of KOKO to some extent also observes this parrallel pattern between the first and second refrain lines, for while the first four lines of each quintain of the poem are regular and have a pattern very similar to the first refrain lines, the fifth lines sometimes have this pattern of the first refrain line and sometimes that of the second:

KOKO: first 4 lines of each quintain: v _ v _ _ v v _

KOKO: fifth lines " " " (a) v _ v _ _ v v _

(b) v _ v _ v _ v _

The variant patterns in the fifth lines of KOKO, incidentally, indicate the close relationship of the text not only to the poem's refrain but also to Shata's refrain in his song 'Magaji Mai Ido Daya'. Thus, not only is there a conscious imitation of Shata here, but also a successful one.[2]

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2 The possible interpretation that Shata himself was consciously imitating the Arabic Rajaz dimeter in this composition would be extremely unlikely.

3. RIJIYA (26/5), another religious praise poem is also very clearly based on the Shata song in praise of Idi Na Tajo. The poem makes direct (sarcastic) references to the Shata song in vv. 13 & 15:

13 Shata ya koɗa Maisaniya, Ya je gare shi ya tambaya,
Ni ma Aƙilu na sunkuya, Domin na ƙaru na tambaya,
Nan gunka ya fi daidai da ni.

'Shata has overpraised Maisaniya, and went up to him to request gifts. Likewise, I, Aƙilu, make obeisance and beg for your favours - this course befits me better'.

15 Begen Rasulu bai min wuya, Ba na yabo ga mai saniya,
Ba na kula da mai goɗiya, Sai jarumi mijin Mariya,
Mai karya ko wane ha'ini.

'Composition in the love of the Messenger of God is no difficult thing with me, I do not praise the cow-owner, neither do I bother about the mare-owner, except the brave one, the husband of Mariya, who overcomes any evil plotter.'

Like Shata's song, moreover, whose refrain is the line;

_ _ v _ v _ _ v _
Idi na Tajo Maisaniya,

Aƙilu's poem too has a one-line refrain which is identical metrically with Shata's thus;

_ _ v _ v _ _ v _
Allah Ubangijina Gwani

4. 'YAR FILANI (25/5), a NEPU protest poem that attacks the immoral behaviour of some N.P.C. members, is the last poem in this category that is consciously based on a Shata song. In this case, Aƙilu has also borrowed

the very title, of the oral model: ''YAR FILANI YAWREN YAWRE'. Shata's refrain consists of a long line followed by a short one:

'Yar Filani yawren yawre
Allah magani.

Afkilu's refrain is similarly structured:

'Yanpisi sharri, su Alhaji Wane
'Yan gatan tsiya.

The metrical pattern of Shata's first refrain line can be described in terms of 8 prosodic slots which for comparative convenience are numbered from the end thus:

8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
_ v _ v _ _ _ v.

Afkilu's first refrain line has the pattern

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
_ _ v _ _ v _ vv _ v .

Put together thus

10 98 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Shata: _ v _ v _ _ _ _
Afkilu: _ _ v _ _ v _ vv _ _ ,

it is easily noticeable that the Afkilu first refrain line differs from the Shata one in a numbers of respects, the notable ones being (1) that Afkilu has a longer line (of 10 prosodic slots) than Shata's (with 8), and (2) that Afkilu's 7th and 8th prosodic slots (with the pattern v _) are a reverse of Shata's (with _ v). Besides these two main differences, however, Afkilu's first refrain line is essentially the same as Shata's in the six prosodic slots (1 - 6) which make the major final portion of the lines, and in this sense Afkilu's line may be said to be a successful

imitation of Shata's.

But while the first refrain lines are thus only essentially similar, the second lines are metrically identical, both having the pattern _ _ _ v _ . This fact strengthens the close metrical relationship between Ákilu's refrain and Shata's. When to this is added the fact that the first four lines in each quintain of Ákilu's text have a pattern (v _ v _ v _ vv _ _) that closely corresponds to Shata's first refrain line, while each fifth line is metrically identical to his second line, it must be concluded that Ákilu's 'YAR FILANI is consciously and successfully based on the rhythmic metre of Shata's 'YAR FILANI YAWREN YAWRE'. And the difference in length between the first four lines of each stanza and the last is further supporting evidence for a Waka I rather than a Waka II original.

5. KAFIYYA (254/2), the long madahu poem which the poet regards as his favourite, is consciously based on a Waka I by an unknown author. The two lines from the song which in an interview Ákilu cited as the metrical model for his poem in couplets are:

(a) Ku daina ƙarya, ku daina lalata,

(b) Mai akwai ya takaici mai babu.

'Stop lying, stop making mischief; the one with has deprived the one without'

The Waka I lines have the patterns

(a) v _ v _ _ v _ v _ _ _

(b) _ v _ _ v _ v _ _ _ ,

which are almost identical (except for the initial v in the first line) in having 10 prosodic slots each:

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
(v) _ v _ _ v _ v _ _ _ .

Akilu's poem has the same metrical pattern as the following couplet which forms his subtitle:

v v _ _ v _ v _ _ v
(a) Ka yi min taimako irin naka,

_ _ _ v _ v _ _ v
(b) Kai ne mai isar wa bayinka,

The pattern, which can be summarised as vv _ _ v _ v _ _ _ , differs from the Waka I pattern in having 9 instead of the basic 10 prosodic slots; and in having a different pattern initially. However, it can be seen clearly that the poem corresponds to the song in 8 prosodic slots:

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
Waka I : (v) _ v _ _ v _ v _ _ _

KAFIYYA : vv _ _ v _ v _ _ _

6. MAULIDI I (41/5), a madahu poem commemorating the birthday of Muhammad, was said by the poet in an interview to be rhythmically based on a traditional Hausa girls' song about a Gobir youth. The refrain of the song, as quoted by Akilu, is:

Shera dan Gobirawa zumun lalle,

which has the pattern

_ _ _ _ v _ _ v _ _ _ .

Akilu's refrain

Yau ne daren haihuwar Manzon Allah,

has the pattern

_ _ v _ _ v _ _ _ _ _ .

The two refrains show an interesting relationship. They both have 12

prosodic slots each, but they differ in that while both have an extra short syllable which is absent in the other, in one case this extra short syllable comes before the central _ _ v _ _ sequence, in the other case after it:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Waka I : _ _ _ _ v _ _ v _ _ _

MAULIDI I: _ _ v _ _ v _ _ _ _ _

It is worthy of note that the poet himself in his performance did observe a noticeable pause in the two empty slots (3rd and 9th for the song and the poem respectively) and in this sense these slots can be regarded as potential prosodic slots comparable, perhaps, to silence in music. It is, at any rate, significant that in many of the internal lines of the text of MAULIDI I, eg. v. 2 (a - d) below, both of these two short "potential" prosodic slots are filled with a short syllable:

_ _ v _ _ v _ _ v _ _ _

Awwal Rabi'in wata marhaban ɗinka

_ _ v _ _ v _ _ v _ _ _

Ni kam ƙwarai na ji daɗin isowarka

_ _ v _ _ v _ _ v _ _ _

Ka zo da alhairatai masu albarka

_ _ v _ _ v _ _ v _ _ _

Ka lulluɓe duniya duk da haskenka...

7. SOJA (95/5), a political praise poem on the Civil War, is rhythmically based on the metrical framework of a popular Hausa love-song, (which is here referred to as 'Godiya indallahi'), said to be composed by the woman solo singer Hajiya Faji accompanied on the kukuma 'fiddle'.

The metrical pattern of the poem has been tentatively described in terms of a variant form of the Arabic Khafīf dimeter catalectic in this

thesis (see first approach above) and in terms of the Munsarih metre (Skinner et al. 1973), but the poet's own word in an interview invalidates these interpretations.

The song-lines on which the refrain of the poem is based are

_ v _ v v _ _ v
Tun kana ciki na so ka

_ v _ v v _ _ v
Ka fito waje ka ki ni,

which can be summarized as

_ v _ v v _ _ _.

This is identical with the two-line refrain of SOJA:

_ v _ v v _ _ _
Sai ku ja damarar danja,

_ v _ v v _ _ v
'Yan mazan sababi, soja!

And allowing for the common interchangeability of vv and _ , this pattern is very similar to the metre of the text of the poem, which has _ v _ vv _ _ _ regularly; consequently, we may conclude that SOJA is successfully based on the rhythmic metre of the Waka I.

8. FILLORI (55/2), the NEPU poem in rhyming couplets, is the last in the group of poems whose metrical bases are explicitly indicated by the poet himself. In this particular case, however, the metrical source is not Hausa Waka I but the theme-song of the romantic Indian film entitled 'Rani Rupmati'. The poem's full title is 'Fillori 'Yar Indiya' (lit. 'Fillori the "daughter" of India'), the expression "fillori" being a frequent word in the Indian song as though it was part of a refrain. The words of the Indian song are not available, and therefore its metrical

interpretation cannot be attempted here; but the view of a number of other Hausa critics who know the Indian song's rhythm has confirmed the impression that Aƙilu's FILLORI is a successful imitation of its proclaimed rhythmic model. The metrical pattern of the poem, whose amshi is

Har abada NEPU muke babu burawa,

is _ v v _ _ v v _ _ v v _ _ ,

which is admittedly consistent throughout, but not relatable to any Arabic metre.

B. Probably based on Waƙa I

The second group of poems in this second approach considers another eight poems about whose metrical origin in Hausa Waƙa I there is no explicit statement by the poet but for each of which there are other factors which make this interpretation highly likely. In each case, the likely Waƙa I source is traceable and metrical comparison possible. The 8 poems are in this sense therefore differently classified from four others, to be discussed later, for which there is as yet no traceable oral source.

1. INKWARIYA (23/5) is perhaps the most interesting. While it is evidently based on another Waƙa II text, by Sa'adu Zungur, it is at the same time strongly reminiscent of a Waƙa I text, which was the very likely oral model for Sa'adu's 'Waƙar Addakari', parts of which have been discussed from the literary point of view by Arnott (1975) and from the politico-religious by Paden (1973) and Hiskett (1975).

The relationship between Aƙilu's INKWARIYA and Sa'adu's 'Addakari' is manifold. Both are political in subject-matter, concerned essentially with the defence of the ordinary man (talaka), who is identified with

NEPU views and aspirations, against the oppressive rule of chiefs (sarakuna), who are identified with the N.P.C. Composed in 300 lines in 1956, in Bauchi, (Paden, p. 296-7), 'Addakari' was the first of a series of poems intended as an aid in NEPU's struggle for dignity and freedom (Sawaba); and in what has been published of it, Sa'adu vehemently attacks both the colonial rulers and their "pilfering butchers' assistants", the traditional rulers. Akilu's poem, composed soon after the famous political public enquiry held at Kano on March 2, 1958, celebrates the outcome of that enquiry which to some extent restored dignity and freedom to NEPU party members; and, like most NEPU political poems of the period, it also violently attacks the N.P.C. INKWARIYA also resembles 'Addakari' in that both have a refrain and have the same running segmental rhyme (-ri), though the one is in quintains while the other in couplets; and they have similar tonal rhyme system, the pattern of both the running and the internal rhyme being LH for each. Again, the whole of INKWARIYA's last (23rd) verse (quoted below), - which has a foregrounding pattern in the double repetition of the 5th line, resulting in seven instead of the normal 5 lines - is a dedication by Akilu to the memory of Sa'adu as the champion of the cause of the oppressed talakawa against oppresive sarakuna. Finally and most relevantly here, the basic metrical structure of the two poems is the same.

As Arnott has shown, the most frequent metrical pattern of 62 couplets of Sa'adu's poem is the common Hausa version of the Arabic Mutadārik metre. It has vv _ / vv _ / vv _ / vv _ in 89 lines out of 124 with the variants _ v _ in the first foot in 30 lines and v _ in the first foot in 4 lines. The basic pattern of INKWARIYA is also vv _ / vv _ / vv _ / vv _ in 113 lines out 117 with the variants (a) _ v _ in the first foot in 2 lines (15c, gaskiya _ v _ , and 21e, Dōn

fǎ īn-/na) and (b) v _ in the first foot in 2 lines (20c, Ǎkī-/lu, and 22a, Ǎ Bīd-/da. To illustrate, the last dedication verse may be quoted:

v. 23 Allah Akabar, barden Mahadi
Shi ne Zungur, Mallam Sa'adi,
Allah ka ji ƙai nasa ya Ahadi,
Domin kuwa ya kwanta lahadi,
Ya Rabba ka haska mai ƙabari,
Ya Rabba ka haska mai ƙabari,
Ya Rabba ka haska mai ƙabari.

Thus from the various thematic and structural relations shown, it might be concluded that Aƙilu's INKWARIYA is based consciously on Sa'adu's 'Addakari'. Whether also it is consciously based on Waka I, or whether it does so only indirectly through Sa'adu's poem, is not as yet as certain; but it is worth examining the triangular relationship. The particular Waka I which completes the triad may be referred to by the short title 'Talakka', a praise song popular in the 1940s when it was sold as a gramophone record. The refrain of the song is

(a) Wahal da maza jigo na Habu,
(b) Ibirahim ya ci garim maƙiya,

giving the patterns

(a) v _ v v _ _ _ v v _
(b) v v _ _ _ v v _ v v _ ,

which may be summarized as

$$\frac{vv}{v} \_ \underline{vv} \_ \underline{vv} \_ vv \_$$

This pattern corresponds very closely to the common pattern in INKWARIYA and 'Addakari' as shown above. The refrain of INKWARIYA, which corresponds

closely to the pattern in the text, is

'Yanpisi ta rasa alkadari ,

and that of 'Addakari', which also corresponds closely to its text pattern, is

Ya Allah ya Sarki Wutiri,

Ka fitar da Arewa cikin hadari .

Thematically, Sa'adu's poem, with its echoes of 'talaka' and repetition of 'gari' in its rhyme, seems to be much more directly reminiscent of the Waka I, which dwells on the plight of the helpless talaka in such striking imagery and vivid scenes as in the following quotation from it:

Talakka talolon masu gari,
Ko ya yi garinai ba a shiga,
Ko an shiga ma ai za a fita,
A bar shi da kango sai masara.

'The peasant is (but) the testes of rulers, even when he does set up a settlement no-one will enter; and even when someone enters, they go away, leaving him alone except for the surrounding wall and maize crop.'

It seems highly likely, given the basic thematic similarity between the earthy realism of this excerpt and Sa'adu's revolutionary political philosophy in general and in 'Addakari' in particular, and, also, the very close metrical correspondence between his poem and 'Talakka', that he composed 'Addakari' consciously on the basis of the Waka I. In this connection it may be tentatively concluded that Akilu's INKWARIYA was not consciously based on the Waka I except via Sa'adu's 'Addakari',

though the possibility of direct and simultaneous influence of Sa'adu's poem and the Waka I on Akilu's is not entirely excluded.

2. BANGO (72/3), 3. MAZAJE (249/2), 4. UMMARA (204/2). These are three praise poems whose metrical structure seems very likely to be based on a Waka I, a court song in praise of a former Emir of Daura composed by his Chief Musician[3].

The three poems, which have the same metrical structure, are in couplets, of which the first line is shorter than the second as in the following examples:

BANGO: (first verse) (a) Sarki Ubangijina,

(b) Ba ni basira na gai da Bangon Gabas.

MAZAJE: (title) (a) Najeriya mazaje,

(b) Mun ci gashin kanmu nan kasar tun jiya.

UMMARA: (refrain) (a) Dan Garba Shehu Baba,

(b) Ya Mairam ne uban kasa Ummara.

The basic metrical pattern of all three poems is

(a) _ _ v _ v _ _

(b) _ vv _ _ v _ v _ _ v _ .

That the two lines are markedly different in length suggests at once that the structural source for the poems must be other than Waka II in which a marked difference in line-length in the same stanza is abnormal if not

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3 I am grateful to Malam Gidado Bello for supplying this information as well as the examples.

unknown; and hence it is appropriate to consider the two lines of each couplet separately. Secondly, the Daura court song which is considered the source for these poems has a refrain which is metrically similar to the couplets of the poem:

Court song (refrain): (a) Mai Kazaure gami da Daura

(b) Ummaru Allah shi bar ka, Mai duniya.

Comparing the first (a) lines of Akilu's three poems with that of the song, thus:

| | | 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 |
|---|---|---|
| Akilu: | (a) | _ _ v _ v _ _ |
| Court singer: | (a) | _ v _ _ v _ v _ _ , |

it can be observed that Akilu's first lines differ only slightly from the Waka I (in the absence of two prosodic slots at the beginning of the lines), and that otherwise the two are very similar in having seven prosodic slots with an identical pattern in each corresponding slot.

The second (b) lines are even more similar

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Akilu: | (b) | _ vv _ _ v _ v _ _ v _ |
| Court singer: | (b) | _ vv _ _ v _ v _ _ v _ |

As the metrical pattern of Akilu's three poems thus so closely corresponds to that of the refrain of the court song, it is reasonable to conclude that the poems, BANGO, MAZAJE and UMMARA, which are all panegyrics, are consciously based on the rhythm of the Daura court praise song.

5. For BEGE (83/2), a madahu poem expressing the poet's love for Muhammad (see segmental rhyme section above, where reference is made to the

foregrounding of the word masoyi, 'lover, loved one' in the poem), there is evidence in the poet's performance and in the poem's metrical framework, that it is based on a love song by a solo woman singer (of uncertain identity) accompanied on the fiddle (kukuma). This likely oral model - 'Masoyina Annabina' - can be illustrated by the following excerpt of 10 lines which represent 3 different stichs or sequences (the end of each being marked by a period):

1. Masoyina annabina,
   Ka shigo daka dari nake ji
   Ka rufe ni da luru da bargo,
   'N rufe ka da cinya da mama.

2. Ni ba ni son direba da tsoro,
   Shi bai gudu shi bai tsaya ba,
   Bai ba maza wuri sun wuce ba.

3. A Mutum uku wa za na zaba,
   Waddal Gara ko Sale Kogo,
   Ko Baba Gana dan Filani?

For convenience, these lines can be described in terms of 8 basic prosodic slots, thus:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
v _(v) vv (v)_ v v _ _ .

It can be observed that four of these 8 basic prosodic slots are regular throughout the ten lines of the excerpt, which, allowing for the common

equivalence of vv for _, are the 3rd (vv), the 6th (v), the 7th (_), and the 8th (_). The 2nd slot has _ regularly, but with an additional v in two lines (5 & 7); the 4th slot has _ except in three lines (5,7 and 10), which have v_ instead; and the 5th slot has _ regularly except once (in line 5), where v occurs instead. The alteration in the first slot of v with _, with the possibility of resolution of the latter into vv, does not seem to be important here (except as this, together with the presence of other irregular sbts, demonstrates the common tendency for Waka I to show more irregularity in the initial portion of a song line than in its final half).

Analyzed in this way, 'Masoyina' can be seen to be closely comparable to Akilu's BEGE which also has 8 basic prosodic slots thus:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
v _(v) vv (v)_ v v _ _,

as illustrated by the following lines from the poem:

v. 14 v _ v v _ _ v _ _
A Makka fari ya tsanantu,

_ _ v v _ _ v _ _
Ya saukaka domin Masoyi.

v. 38 _ _ vv _ v v _ _
Jikan Iliyasu na Dije

_ _ v _ v _ v v _ _
Baban Batulu sonka nake yi.

v. 40 _ _ _ _ v v _ _
Jikan Adnani mayaki,

Ya mai da v gidan tsafi toyi.

With the single exception, in the 6th sbt of BEGE, of the single occurrence of _ instead of v (line 40b), the two texts are identical in

having the same four prosodic slots regularly throughout, these being the 3rd slot (vv), 6th (v), 7th (_), and the 8th (_). The most noticeable difference is in the 5th prosodic slot, where BEGE has v in 57 lines (roughly one-third of the whole) instead of _, while 'Masoyina' has only one such occurrence (i.e. in one-tenth); but even here it is to be noted that in the poet's performance some of the syllables scanned as short are sometimes pronounced noticeably long, which reduces the importance of the difference. In the 1st, 2nd, and 4th slots, which are not consistent, there are also similarities of pattern between BEGE and 'Masoyina'. Like the Waka I text, the 2nd slot in BEGE has _ except in 10 lines, which have _v (twice in (a) and 8 times in (b)). In the 4th slot, with its general _ pattern, there are eleven examples of the exceptional v_ (three in (a) and 8 in (b)). The first slot has the same three-fold pattern v, vv, or _, as in the Waka I. When the exact correspondence in the number and details of four of these prosodic slots, and the similarities in the pattern of irregularity in the others, are considered alongside of an observation of the poet's performance of the poem, it is reasonable to conclude that BEGE was based consciously on 'Masoyina Annabina'.

6. MARABA (50/2), which welcomes the achievement of Nigerian independence on October 1, 1960, suggests its Waka I original in the form of the popular anonymous beggars' song 'Barka da Sallah' which is sung, without musical accompaniment, on the annual occasion of the Muslim festival Id al-Kabir (or Sallar Layya, the Greater Beiram). Besides the general thematic resemblance and certain common phrases, there are other structural similarities between the two. MARABA which is in couplets has a regular one-word refrain - shugaba - which is identical with the one-word refrain of 'Barka' - mɑlamai - not only in its trisyllabic shape but also in its quantitative (_ v _ ) and tonal (LHH) patterns; and

besides the refrains, the text of either work has a generally HL tone pattern in the syll-y and syll-z of its lines. Most important here, the two have some similar metrical patterns.

Although like most Waka I of its kind, 'Barka' has no absolutely fixed text but continues to be modified according to the circumstances of each particular performance, there are certain key lines which are relatively more fixed and which might be referred to as formulaic (see Lord, 1974). In the selection of such lines given below by way of illustration, there are nine sequences of which the first two and the last one are distichs (paralleling MARABA's regular couplets) and the rest are monostichs:

1. (a) Barkanmu da Sallah,
   (b) barkanmu da gode Allah.

2. (a) Ala maimaita mana,
   (b) Ala kara maimaita mana.

3. An je Haji lafiya.

4. An dawo lafiya.

5. Sallah guzuri ne.

6. Azumi guzuri ne.

7. Haji ma guzuri ne.

8. Zakka guzuri ne.

9. (a) Ala maimaita mana,
   (b) Ala ba mu yawancin kwanuka.

The metrical patterns of these twelve lines (in 9 sequences) is

1. (a) _ _ v v _ _
   (b) _ _ v v _ v _ _

2. (a) v v _ _ _ v _
   vv _ v _ _ _ v _

3. _ _ v v _ v _

4. _ _ _ _ v _

5. _ _ v v _ _

6. v v _ v v _ _

7. v v _ v v _ _

8. _ _ v v _ _

9. (a) v v _ _ _ v _
   (b) vv _v _ _ _ v _

This pattern reveals that the lines are not prosodically equal and that the first lines of distichs and the single lines of the monostichs have a similar number of prosodic slots while the second lines of the distichs are longer. It is convenient here to treat this irregularity by recognizing six basic prosodic slots for the song lines, and from the point of view of the subsequent comparison with MARABA, it is considered useful to start the count from the last slot thus:

( 7) 6 5 4 3 2 1
(vv) vv(v) vv vv(v) _ v _

If this is taken as an appropriate analysis of the main pattern of 'Barka', then MARABA can be shown to be comparable in also having six basic prosodic slots with the possibility of extra slots in line -

initial positions. Thus, the metrical pattern and details of the 100 lines of MARABA's 50 couplets can be summarized as follows - (numbering the last slot first):

| (8) | (7) | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| _ v | v v | (vv (v)$^{1\ 98}$) | v v | v v | | | |
| | _ | ( _ (v)$^{4}$ ) | _ | _ (v)$^{2}$ | _ | (v)$^{51}$ | _ |
| | | ( (v)$^{5}$ ) | | (v)$^{1}$ | | | |

with the possibility of two extra slots (7,8) which are of negligible frequency. MARABA lacks the 6th slot in only two cases, i.e. it has a filled 6th slot in 98% of its lines, which compares favourably with the regular 6th slot of 'Barka'. In both poems there are 3 regularly patterned prosodic slots, the 1st with _, the 3rd also with _, and the 5th which has v v or _. In MARABA, the 2nd slot is filled by v in 51 lines, roughly half the poem, while in 49 lines it is not occupied at all. This compares with what obtains in 'Barka' where 6 lines out of the total 12 quoted are filled by v, and 6 are not filled at all. The 2nd slot is therefore recognized as a prosodic slot though sometimes unfilled. In the 4th slot, MARABA has vv regularly except in 3 lines, the variations being the single occurrence of v, (in 2b) and two occurrences of _ v (in 22b and 28b), both in the second hemistichs of couplets. This compares with the 4th slot of 'Barka' which has vv regularly except once (1b) where it is _ v. In the 6th slot, MARABA also compares with 'Barka' but with more differences in detail. vv occurs in MARABA except seven times: five of these exceptions are v, four of them are _ v, and there is a single case of vv v. In 'Barka' there are no cases of reduction of the general vv pattern (as in the 5 exceptions where v occurs in the poem);

but there are two cases of _ v. Thus though some of the metrical details vary slightly, it seems very likely that MARABA is a conscious imitation of 'Barka', not only in thematic mood, but also rhythmically.

This metrical relationship can be summarized as

| | (8) | (7) | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 'Barka' | _ v | vv | vv(v) | vv | vv(v) | _ | (v) | _ |
| MARABA | _ v | vv | vv(v) | vv | vv(v) | _ | (v) | _ |

The following lines are illustrative of MARABA:

v 2 (a) Barkanmu da 'yanci,

(b) Barkanmu da gode Rabba.

3 (a) Muka samo 'yanci,

(b) Ran daya ga watan Oktoba.

4 (a) A dubu da dari tara,

(b) Sai sittin daidai shekara.

5 (a) Mulkin kai an yi shi,

(b) Sai bullowar himarayit.

7. AURE (110/5), a social reform poem which discusses the virtues of marriage and condemns prostitution, has the same didactic theme as Shata's song 'Don Sallah da Salatil Fatih' which from a discussion with Akilu also

appears to be its conscious rhythmic model.

Shata's refrain, which is

Don Sallah da Salatil Fatih,

Don Allah mata ku yi aure,

'For the sake of Sallah and the Salatil Fatih,

For God's sake, O women, marry',

has the patterns

_ _ _ vv _ _ _ _

_ _ _ _ _ _ vv _ _ ,

which are summarized as

_ _ _ vv _ vv _ _ ,

Akilu's refrain in AURE,

Mallam auri diyar dattawa

San da kake riya neman aure

Malam, seek the daughter of upright people

Whenever you contemplate marrying,

has the patterns

_ _ _ v v _ _ _ _

_ v v _ v v _ _ _ _ ,

which can be summarized as

_ vv _ v v _ _ _ _.

As will be recalled, the pattern of the poem as a whole to which this refrain closely corresponds, could be described in terms of a reversal of the Arabic Mutadārik tetrameter (see 4.2.B) above) thus:

_ vv / _ vv / _ vv / _ vv.

The pattern of Akilu's poem is thus fairly close to that of the Shata song, both being describable loosely as a form of the Arabic Mutadārik tetrameter reversed and more accurately in terms of 8 prosodic slots which are represented by long syllables with the possibility of substitution or resolution into two shorts of the even slots:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
_ vv _ vv _ vv _ vv

It is perhaps worth noting that Shata's song was a rejoinder to a heated debate between him and another Waka I artist, Danmani, over the question of who has the moral blame for the flourishing existence of prostitution and related social evils, the men or the women. Akilu, perhaps the most important and most vocal contemporary voice against such socio-domestic ills, clearly had Shata's song and Danmani's in mind when he composed AURE, for the poem argues that the parents of a woman, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, both the men and women have a responsibility in the upkeep of a good marriage and therefore share the blame for its failure. This view, by the way, is more abundantly argued and illustrated in Akilu's DANGATA (357/2) which was composed, about 1963, earlier than both AURE and Shata's 'Don Sallah da Salatil Fatih'. Now, it should be pointed out that AURE and DANGATA, as well as 'YAR GAGARA (I and II may for the moment be considered as one) and GORA constitute what has been earlier described as the socio-domestic quartet, a thematic unity that have the same metrical pattern. However, the three others besides AURE are not considered as metrically based on Shata because (1) 'YAR GAGARA I and DANGATA were composed about 1961 and 1963 respectively, before Shata's song (which was in the mid-60's), and 'YAR GAGARA II, begun in 1973, after Shata's song, is a tahamisi of 'YAR GAGARA I; and (2) because GORA, a poem on bad husbands, was a rejoinder to Malam Sani's 'Mata

Mamugunta', on bad wives, whose metrical pattern it consciously imitates. It can therefore be concluded that among the socio-domestic quartet of Akilu Aliyu's, AURE is the only poem that seems very likely to be based on the rhythmic scheme of Hausa Waka I. This conclusion, which stems partly from Akilu's remarks in an interview and partly from the close metrical correspondence, is further strengthened by the cumulative religious appeal in the advice given to the husband in AURE v. 81.

Kai kuma mai aure, don Allah, Domin Annabi Manzon Allah,
Don girman azumi don Sallah, Na roke ka ka dinga adala
Gun ahalinka mazowa aure.

'As for you, married man, for Allah's sake, for the sake of the Prophet the Messenger of Allah, for the sake of the status of fasting and the obligatory prayers, I entreat you to treat your married household with justice and fair play.'

Shata's refrain also appeals to the religious sense of duty to appeal to women to marry in its very refrain:

Don Sallah da Salatil Fatih,
Don Allah, mata ku yi aure.

'For the sake of the obligatory prayers and Salatil Fatih (the standard prayer for Muhammad), for the sake of Allah, O women, marry.'

8. FAILA (83/2), the last poem in this category, is a Tijjaniyya poem whose actual oral rhythmic model is relatively more open to question, there being two possible sources traceable - a traditional Hausa girls' song, and a song from a Hausa folk tale.

Some lines from FAILA include

v. 1 Ga Akilu mai waka,

Dan Aliyu miskini.

22 Aljan da mutanensa,

Dawwabu da hayawani.

33 A'a, a'a, a'a,

Allah shi kiyaye ni.

51 Sabo da mutan kirki,

Zai karfafa mai ramni;

52 Zai kyautata mai muni

Zai kamsasa mai karni.

refrain: Kamshin bishiyar Faila

Ya dadada zamani.

To sme extent, the very fact of such variety in metrical patterning in this poem suggests a Waka I source. This variety can be summed up by the observation that there are three distinct patterns, thus:

(1) _ _ v v _ _ _ in 129 out of the total 166 lines (or 83 couplets)

(2) _ _ _ _ _ _ in 11 lines

(3) _ v _ v _ _ _ _ in 22 lines.

These patterns can be described in terms of six basic prosodic slots thus:

1 2 3 4 5 6
_ v _v vv _ _ _.

The refrain of the girls' song is

Wayyo ni wayyo ni

v v
Wayyo ni icen marke,

almost
which gives the same basic six slots thus:

1 2 3 4 5 6
_ _ vv _ _ _ .

The second possible metrical source for FAILA, the foktale song, is slightly less similar than the girls' song:

v v v
Sama dai iccen maraya

v v
Sama dai iccen kosai .

Its pattern can be summarized as

v v _ _ _ v _ _ ,

which differs from FAILA's basic slots in (a) having the possibility of v v for _ in the first slot instead of in the 3rd; and (b) having an additional v between the 4th and the 5th slots. As (a) however is a common enough variation in Hausa poetry, and (b) can be regarded as either belonging to the 4th or the 5th slot or as a potential slot which can be recognized though not always actually filled in FAILA, these differences can be discounted, and FAILA could be regarded as based on the song.

Thus, although it is not certain which of the two Waka I sources is FAILA's actual rhythmic model, it can reasonably be concluded that the poem was composed in imitation of a Waka I rhythmic metre.

C. Analogically based on Waka I

Besides the 8 poems which are explicitly based on the metrical structure of Waka I, and the other 8 which seem very likely to be similarly based, there is a third group of poems which are considered as Waka I-based because they are analogous metrically to those in either the first or the second group. This third group consists of a first sub-group of 15 poems which fall into four metrical groups as follows:

1. The first metrical group, which has a pattern identical with ISRA'I, contains 7 poems: 'DANGATA, GORA, NOMA, 'YAN MAKARANTA, 'YAR GAGARA I, 'YAR GAGARA II, and ZALUNCI. These have been described as having a basically reversed Mutadārik tetrameter form in the first approach above:

   _ vv / _ vv / _ vv / _ vv

   It will be observed that AURE is not included in this group because other factors considered make it a more likely metrical imitation of a Shata song. In the absence of such other factors regarding these 7 poems, however, the possibility that prima facie they are metrically consciously related to ISRA'I cannot be entirely excluded; and as ISRA'I itself is consciously based on a Waka I, these may be regarded similarly as based on a Waka I rhythm.

2. The second metrical group is identical with the pattern of SOJA, and contains four poems: AL'ADU, DAMINA, JUMHURIYA I, and MAULIDI II. The pattern of SOJA itself (_ v _ v v _ _) has been described in terms of a variant of the Arabic Khafīf dimeter catalectic in the first approach (in this thesis) and as Munsarih (Skinner, et al. 1973). But as SOJA itself is consciously based on Waka I (Masoyina Annabina'), these four poems which have a pattern identical with it

can reasonably be regarded as also based on Waka I.

3. The third metrical group consists of three poems - JIHAR KANO, TAKA, and TUNKU - whose basic metrical pattern, described earlier in terms of the normal Arabic Rajaz dimeter, is identical with KOKO. However, since the poet himself states that KOKO is rhythmically based on Shata's song 'Magaji Mai Ido Daya', it is not unreasonnable to assume that these three other poems are similarly based on Waka I.

4. The last metrical pattern contains one poem, namely HAKURI, whose metrical pattern is identical with that of KAFIYYA which in turn is consciously based on an anonymous but traceable Waka I.

From the foregoing analyses and discussion in this second approach to the corpus, it thus emerges that for 31 (out of the 79 poems in our corpus), Akilu Aliyu has used traceable Waka I originals explicitly or implicitly as his rhythmical models. To these 31 poems must now be added the remaining four poems in the corpus which are definitely not Arabic in their metrical structures, but for which no known Waka I sources have been traced. Each of these four poems - HAUSA II (37/5), MAULIDI III (63/5), NAJERIYA (64/5), and TUBA I (79/2) - has a distinct metrical pattern as summarized below:

HAUSA II : _ vv _ v _ vv _ _ x 5

MAULIDI III : _ v _ v _ _ v _ v _ x 5

NAJERIYA : _ _ v _ v _ _ x 5

TUBA I : _ vv _ v _ v _ _ v _ _ x 2

These metrical patterns do not even roughly approximate to any of the 16 classical Arabic metres, and their nearest possible relationship to Arabic prosody is to describe them in terms of Arabic feet (as opposed to metres). Thus, for instance, NAJERIYA's metrical pattern could be described in terms of the two Arabic feet mūstaf'ilūn fa'ulūn, and TUBA I in terms of mūstafilūn mufa'ilūn fa'ilātun. As, however, no Arabic metre is known to have these combinations of such feet, it is much safer to exclude any reference to Arabic prosody in their case. On the other hand, although no actual Waka I sources have been traced, and since a significant number of the poems in our corpus are Waka I-based, it is more valid to conclude either that these four poems too are based on yet untraced Waka I sources, or that their metrical patterns are original metres of Akilu's own devising.

Whatever their actual metrical origins, it is perhaps desirable - certainly possible - to treat the patterns of these four poems on traditional Hausa lines in terms of the Hausa rhythmic formulae arauye, yaraye, nanaye, etc (cf. Muhammad, L. 1966) - flexible formulae employed especially by Hausa women to set forth or represent the rhythmic metres of Waka I pieces:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| HAUSA II: | either: | yara iye iye ra'arauye |
| | or: | ayye yaraye nanaye |
| MAULIDI III: | | yara naye dide iyaraye |
| NAYERIYA: | | ayyaraye arauye |

TUBA I: either: _ v _ v _ v _ _ v _ _
yara iye iye iye yaranaye

or: _ _ _ v _ v _ _ v _ _
ayye dide dide ayyaranaye.

This recourse to the use of the Hausa rythmic formulae is indeed not ad hoc. While our present knowledge of their history and structural function needs further investigation, their very feature of flexibility - in quantitative no less then in tonal terms - would appear to have enormous implications for further research, for they do not only have practical analytical convenience (in which case they are comparable to our use of Arabic prosody) but they could also help to clarify the historical relationship between Arabic and Hausa poetry in general. Thus, although for cases of variant metrical patterns, different selections and combinations of these formulae would have to be used, as in the case of HAUSA II or TUBA I above, this is only a temporary setback; and as a matter of fact, these formulae could be used to describe or represent virtually any rhythmical pattern (including our 79 poems). To illustrate this claim, it should suffice to conclude this section by describing the basic metrical patterns of the 16 Standard metres of Classical Arabic poetry themselves in the following manner (though, it is to be noted, a certain amount of systematisation would be necessary to cover not only the Standard variations permitted but also cases of catalexis). This is done in Table 4/2.

TABLE 4/2. The Standard Arabic Metres in Hausa rhythmic formulae

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | ṬAWĪL | Ar: | fa'ulun mafa'ilun x 2 |
| | | H: | arauye iyenaye x 2 |
| 2. | MADĪD | Ar: | fa'ilatun fa'ilun fa'ilatun |
| | | H: | yaranaye yaraye yaranaye |
| 3. | BASĪṬ | Ar: | mustaf'ilun fa'ilun x 2 |
| | | H: | ayyaraye yaraye x 2 |
| 4. | KĀMIL | Ar: | mutafa'ilun x 3 |
| | | H: | ayayaraye x 3 |
| 5. | WĀFIR | Ar: | mufa'alatun mufa'alatun fa'ulun |
| | | H: | iyara'iye iyara'iye arauye |
| 6. | HAZAJ | Ar: | mafa'ilun x 2 |
| | | H: | iye dide iye dide |
| 7. | RAJAZ | Ar: | mustaf'ilun x 3 |
| | | H: | ayyaraye ayyaraye ayyaraye |
| 8. | RAMAL (cat.) | Ar: | fa'ilatun fa'ilatun fa'ilun |
| | | H: | yaranaye yaranaye yaraye |

TABLE 4/2. (Continued)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9. | SARĪ? | Ar: | mustaf'ilun mustaf'ilun fa'ilun |
| | | H: | ayyaraye ayyaraye yaraye |
| 10. | MUNSARIḤ | Ar: | mustaf'ilun fa'ilatu mufta'ilun |
| | | H: | ayyaraye yara dide yara'iye |
| 11. | KHAFĪF | Ar: | fa'ilatun mustaf'ilun fa'ilatun |
| | | H: | yaranaye ayyaraye yaranaye |
| 12. | MUḌĀRI? | Ar: | mafa'ilun fa'ilatun |
| | | H: | iyaraye yaranaye |
| 13. | MUQTAḌAB | Ar: | fa'ilatu mufta'ilun |
| | | H: | yara dide yara'iye |
| 14. | MUJTATTH | Ar: | mustaf'ilun fa'ilatun |
| | | H: | ayyaraye yaranaye |
| 15. | MUTADĀRIK | Ar: | fa'ilun x 4 |
| | | H: | yaraye x 4 |
| 16. | MUTAQĀRIB | Ar: | fa'ulun fa'ulun fa'ulun fa'ul |
| | | H: | arauye arauye arauye iye |

It is now appropriate to attempt briefly to give a balanced picture of the rhythmic influence of Hausa Waka I on Waka II, as argued above for the 35 poems of our corpus, by referring to the practice by other Hausa poets.

First, there is the case of the famous 81 year old blind poet Aliyu Namangi, who composed the 1,035 quintains of his renowned religious poem Imfiraji (in 9 volumes) on the rhythm of Caji, using the lines:

Gaba Caji baya Caji
Sai ka ce cajin ba zai wuce ba

as his metrical cue or base, and acknowledging the borrowing in v. 66 of volume I of his work thus:

Wanga talifi da na ji
Wake-waken masu caji
Nai wa 'yata ce Ajuji,
Sai na sa mata 'Imfiraji',
Mai yinta ba zai bakin ciki ba.

Incidentally, Sa'adu Zangur's well-known 'Maraba da Soja' (of basically 43 quintains), which has the same basic metrical set-up as Imfiraji - with the final lines of each stanza metrically longer than the internal lines - may in view of these two factors be considered as based on the same Waka I rhythmical model.

Another published Waka I-based Namangi poem is Kasbur Raga'ibu (347/2), a theological tract, for which he cited (in an interview; also cf. (unpub.) Dangambo, A. and Hassan, U., both 1973) an anonymous song as his metrical model, acknowledging the fact himself in verses 21 and 22 of his poem thus:

21 Amma abin nufana
Da wanga ƙasida da za mu talifta:

22 Waƙar Matangaɗa,
Ita niy yi nufi, Rabbana, da juye ta.

Aliyu Namangi also bases his most recently published work, Nuniyatul Amdahi (150/2), composed in 1970 on his first pilgrimage to Mecca, on the metrical framework of an Ƙilu Aliyu poem namely 'YAR GAGARA I, citing (in an interview) the refrain line of Ƙilu's poem as his model:

Ba ta nufin zikiri sai batsa.

The second major contemporary (though yet unpublished) poet who has drawn on Waka I originals for his metrical compositions is Umaru Gwandu. First, his 'Yunwar Shago' (31/5), an extended symbol of the hard famine of (1948-9), a calamity he personifies with the attributes of the fierce and well-known boxer Shago, was based metrically on an erstwhile popular soldier's song (interview), from which he quoted the verse:

Dage na Halima
Soja mai bindigar tsare bakin daga.

His own poem may be illustrated by the 10th quintain:

Ba mu i mishi, tsare mu gare shi,
Bugu da dwaga gare shi da naushi,
Wata nufa wadda nig ga gare shi,
Zabura za shi yi shi yi taushi,
Sad da duk za shi yunƙura taushe min shi.

In another work, the religious poem 'Gafara Muka Fata', (44/4), Umaru Gwandu draws on the rhythm of the Waka I 'Waƙar Mulkin Kai',

composed by the court musician Mamman Sarkin Taushin Sarkin Katsina, the clear evidence here, apart from metrical similarity, being the use of one of the 2 refrain lines of the Waka I:

Murna mukai duniya ta yi dadi.

In three other poems, Umaru Gwandu does not explicitly mention an oral model, but this conclusion is highly probable. In his 'Yabon Ubangiji da Addu'a' (of 38 stanzas which are here considered as having 4 lines each), the very irregularity in the metrical length and shape of the lines is evident of a Waka I metrical origin. The poem may be illustrated by the 7th and 8th verses:

7. Shi nit tugi dai da shi,
Komi bai kama da shi,
Tun wada nig ga ba awa shi nib bi shi,
YA ISAN.

8. Komi ga shi ya isan,
Na so dan'uwa ka san
Wa' iya mai da taliki haka baicin shi?
BABU SHI.

In his elegy on 'Sarkin Gwandu Yahaya' (54/5), a similar irregularity in the metrical length and shape of the lines, together with the presence of a refrain, support the conclusion that the poem is based on a Waka I rhythmic metre. The 3rd and 6th quintains provide the examples, with refrains in brackets:

3. Sarki mai bi da kangara,
Azzalummai su takura,
Inwa kake wadda ba kira,
Mu kan man munka tattara,
Mun huta mun haya tudun-mun-tsira.
(SA MAZA GUDU).

6. Suturar Allah wadda yar raba,
Alhairinai da martaba,
Sun samu gare ka kai daba,
Reni kam babu shi, haba!
Wargi da ganinka bai ga warinai ba.
(SA MAZA GUDU).

Another Sokoto work, (also unpublished), which draws on Hausa Waka I, is that religious madahu poem 'Yabon Annabi' (18/5) which records its debt to Narambada's 'Bakandamiya' after the title by the phrase 'Muryar Bakandamiyar Narambada'. The poem, dated A.H. 1384 (i.e. about 1964) and composed by an Alkalin Isa who is not mentioned by name, can be illustrated by the tenth verse:

10. Don shi anka tsar da Makka mutanen giwa,
Ya ci Tabuka Ahma ya watse Kibdawa,
Ya ci Bani Nadiru ya yanke Urnawa,
Ka san Shugabanmu ya wuce tsoron kowa,
Birnin Makka Sidi bai bar mai wargi ba.

The last Sokoto Waka II artist to be cited here is the blind, yet unpublished poet Audu Makaho Birnin Kebbi, who has composed a religious praise poem on Muhammad which he himself has titled 'Juyin Shago' (41/5) thereby acknowledging the influence of a renowned song by Dan Anache in

praise of his famed patron Shago. Verses 3 and 24 exemplify Audu B/K's poem:

3. Amma duka hwarkon ƙida da ɗai aka kamo,
In ko anka kai ga goma a komo,
Ina masu shiga cikin hakinga ku komo,
Ku yi anniya da soke-soke da ƙaimo,
Ban ga kamak kuna da takalmi ba.

24. Na koma kiran Muhammadu gwarzo,
Ka ji abin kira garai dai niz zo,
Dole kahurai su ɗora kozo,
An yi gamon Badar da yad darzazo,
Ya halaka su ba su ramawa ba.

The Kano poet Adamu Jingau too has based one of his two published poems in Waƙoƙin Hikima on this same Dan Anache 'Shago' song, indicating this in the very title of his poem 'Gargaɗi A' (13/4). His other published poem in the same anthology, 'Gargaɗi B' (16/5) is similarly based on Mamman Sarkin Taushi's 'Waƙar Indifenda'.

Another Kano poet, Kabiru Inuwa Magoga, is represented in the same anthology by a religious madahu poem on Muhammad 'Begen Annabi' (39/5) which he based on the rhythm of the love-song 'Jimmai' by the musician Haruna Oji who plays gurmi.

Still in the same anthology is Muhammadu Zayyanu's 'Bindingar Harbin Talla' (40/5) which is based on the popular well-known song 'Dan Sa'idu arne sai gayya'. This, incidentally, is also the same Waka I rhythmic source of an Akilu poem (outside of our corpus) entitled 'Sancuri', one of the several poems he prepared for the World Black Festival of Arts and Culture (FESTAC). (This Waka I has also been a

metrical model for a few other Waka II artists such as Baba Maigyada).

And among the five philosophical compositions that make up his 1972 Kimiyya da Fasaha, Salihu Kontagora, a Zaria-based poet, explicitly bases one poem, 'Fahimta' (100/2) on a traditional, popular rhythm of a dance song 'Asawwara', as his 99th verse amply makes clear:

Gawakar asawwara ni kuma yau na sawwara,
Sai ku taho mu rangada duka kowa shi ji ta.

It can therefore be concluded here that other Waka II authors do draw upon the rhythmic framework of Waka I for their literate compositions, but that Akilu Aliyu appears to do so much more frequently.

## 4.3. Amshi: function and structure

In chapter I (1.2) brief reference was made to amshi, refrain, as a typical Waka I phenomenon whose presence and use in Waka II reflects a close relationship between the oral and the literary genres of Hausa poetry. This section briefly describes the function and structure of amshi in Akilu Aliyu.

In our 79 poems, thirty are associated with amshi, given by the poet either in his manuscripts (at the top, or after every verse), in his performance, after most verses or, when the audience participate, after each verse; or else in some interviews. Of these 30 poems, thirteen are political in theme, ten religious, five social and moral, and two praise. These figures (see Table 4/3) generally reflect on some background aspect or aspects of the composition of the poems, especially with regard to the poet's intentions.

Of the thirteen political poems, for instance, the ten on NEPU protest have amshi presumably because they were composed with a view to

group performance by party members during the campaigns and party conventions that characterized the period from the late forties to the early sixties. One example of these is TAURARO which was resoundingly performed by the whole congregation of the 1958 Jos NEPU Conference, and whose amshi is:

Allah ka taimaki NEPU gyara zamani.

'O, God, help the NEPU to correct the ills of the times'.

The remaining three political poems are provided with amshi apparently only with a view to ultimate group performance since they are all in praise of the Federal troops during the Civil War (1967-70). These two types of political poems, (NEPU protest and Civil War poems) are listed below with their respective amshi texts:

(a) NEPU

(1) BAKI 3: Baki uku sharri, 'Yanpisi.

(2) FILLORI: Har abada NEPU muke babu burawa.

(3) INKWARIYA: 'Yanpisi ta rasa alkadari.

(4) JIHAR KANO: Jihar Kano munka fi so
A ba mu, ba Kaduna ba.

(5) JIYA: Taimake mu da taimakonka,
Har mu karya bakin karaya.

(6) MARABA: Shugaba.

(7) TAKA: Taka a yanke a raba.

(8) TAURARO: Allah ka taimaki NEPU gyara zamani.

(9) 'YAR FILANI: 'Yanpisi sharri, su Alhaji Wane
'Yan gatan tsiya.

(10) ZALUCI: Allah karya maso ha'inci.

(b) Civil War

(1) KICIBIS: Gaishe ku maza karon dutse,
Sojan 'yanci na Tarayya.

(2) MAZA: Ojukwu mai ɓallewa.

(3) SOJA: Sai ku ja ɗamarar danja,
'Yan mazan sababi, Soja!

The second largest thematic class of poems with amshi is the religious group with 10 poems, which may be subdivided into (a) six poems whose themes centre on the priase of the Prophet Muhammad, i.e. madahu, and (b) four Tijjaniyya poems which centre on this Sufi order and its leaders. This subdivision is not water-tight, for the members of the Tijjaniyya order in Kano - which Paden (1973) describes in depth as the Reformed Tijjaniyya - celebrate the whole week of Muhammad's birth, Maulidi, chanting religious poems in praise of the Prophet as well as of their brotherhood leaders. In both cases, the provision of amshi is clearly related to responsorial or choral group singing. These two sub-groups are listed below with their amshi:

(a) The Prophet Muhammad

(1) ISRA'I: Ni dai nai roƙo an ba ni,
Wanda nake bege ya ji ni;
Allah, ban fatahi da basira,
In yabi Annabi Baban Zara.

(2) KOKO: Shumagaban ai sujada,
Rasulu mun yi godiya.

(3) MAULIDI I: Yau ne daren haihuwar Manzon Allah.

(4) MAULIDI II: Yau daren babbar Sallah,
Haihuwar Manzon Allah.

(5) MAULIDI III: Arzikinmu ƙaunar Muhammadi.

(6) RIJIYA: Allah Unabgijina Gwani.

(b) Tijjaniyya

(1) GUZURI: Kaunarmu da kai ta Annabi ce,
Mamman na Abas maje Azare.

(2) FAILA: Kamshin bishiyar Faila
Ya daɗaɗa zamani.

(3) JAKADIYA: Allah raya mu kan zikiri.

(4) IBRAHIMA: Allah ƙara ɗaukaka Shehu Ibrahima.

Out of the total thirty poems with amshi, then, the great majority (23) are political and religious, both of which are concerned with themes with enormous emotional group appeal, and the provision of amshi for most if not all of them is particularly apt.

As regards the remaining seven poems - five on social/moral reform and two on praise - a little more detailed comment is necessary with regard to the function of amshi in them. In the former, it is surprising to find amshi associated with the three poems on marriage and prostitution - AURE, 'YAR GAGARA I and 'YAR GAGARA II - surprising because such

didactic themes are normally not performed in choral groups, and the kind of emotional element that is found in the political or religious poems is absent. By contrast, the remaining two poems in this group are educational poems which are specifically directed to school children, and the provision of amshi in them serves the purpose of involving the young and youthful audience in participation in the performance, thus creating and catering for the right emotional attitude and atmosphere for the assimilation of the didactic ideas in the two poems. Below are the amshi texts of these five social/moral poems:

(a) Marriage/prostitution

(1) AURE: Malam, auri ḍiyar dattawa
San da kake riya neman aure.

(2) 'YAR GAGARA I: Ba ta nufin zikiri sai batsa.

(3) 'YAR GAGARA II: Mai fitina, babbar wata gwaza,
Ba ta nufin zikiri, tir, banza!

(b) Educational

(1) SOMI: (a) Somin taɓin almajiran makaranta.
(b) Na zo da ta-ta, yanzu ga na-na-na.

(2) 'YAN MAKARANTA: Yara, kar ku bi hanyar ƙyuya,
In kun so ku zamanto manya.

Finally, in the pair of praise poems the provision of amshi seems clearly to reflect its parallel status and function in the court praise compositions of Waka I artists, for these two poems were composed in praise of the present emir of Kano, and of the late Shehu of Borno Umar Garbai while he was still alive. It is worth observing, in passing, that the fact that a Waka II artist has here chosen to compose a poem in

praise of a living chief is unusual, and may be considered a break from the Waka II tradition in so far as one can prescribe norms for the theme or subject-matter of any major poet. These two thematically 'untraditional' poems have the following texts as their amshi:

(1) ADO BAYERO: Na gode Adamu,
Dan Bayero San-Kano.

(2) UMMARA: Dan Garba Shehu Baba,
Ya-Mairam ne uban ƙasa Ummara.

As in Waka I in general, each amshi plays a thematically significant role, highlighting some major aspect of the subject-matter of the poem's text. In five of the poems - IBRAHIMA, ISRA'I, MAULIDI I, TAURARO and UMMARA - the amshi contains a key word, a phrase, or a whole line taken from the original full title of the poem as spelt out in Table AI (see chapter 1.4); and in AURE the amshi is also the actual subtitle of the poem. In six poems, the amshi is, or contains, the whole of the full title of the poem, these being BAKI 3, FAILA, JIHAR KANO, MAULIDI II, SOMI (A), and TAKA. In the other cases, the amshi has not always a direct surface relevance to the full title mainly because in many cases the full title is metaphorical or proverbial. For example the original full title of SOJA is 'Jiki Magayi' which is a Hausa proverb which symbolically relates to its theme of praise to soldiers contained in its amshi. So also in KOKO, whose full title is 'Kokon Mabarata', 'The Beggars' Bowl', the title is metaphorically related to the theme of prayer and madahu in the religious poem on Muhammad as expressed in the amshi thus:

Shamagaban ai sujada Rasulu mun yi godiya
Supreme leader at obeisance, O messenger of God, we are grateful.

At the surface structure level of the text of the amshi, there seems

to be no relationship between it and the poem as a whole. Among the 30 poems themselves, one is in quatrains, 12 in couplets, and 17 in quintains. As regards amshi, with the single exception of MARABA which has only one word -shugaba- as its amshi, the amshi is in each case at least one whole line (of several words). There are in fact 14 poems where the amshi is a full line (considering SOMI's two distinct amshi texts for the moment as one), and 14 poems where the amshi consists of two lines (again here regarding 'YAR FILANI's one-and-a-half lines as two). ISRA'I has the longest amshi text, consisting of four lines or two couplets. At this surface level of structure, the non-relatedness of the amshi to the text of the poems can be illustrated by observing that while ISRA'I, which is in quintains, has a four-line amshi, KOKO, which is also in quintains has a two-line amshi, MAULIDI I, also in quintains has a one-line amshi, and JIYA, in quatrains, again has a one-line amshi. Similarly, while MARABA, which is in couplets, has only one word as its amshi, JAKADIYA, of the same stanzaic form, has one full line, and UMMARA, also in the same couplet form, has two lines.

At the deep structure level, however, there is a demonstratably close relationship between the amshi and the text of poems.

At the level of segmental rhyme, for instance, the close relationship is shown in the fact that in the great majority of cases the last syllable of the amshi matches the running rhyme-syllable of the poem. The only exceptions to this are (a) FILLORI and 'YAR GAGARA II, both of which have only internal but no running segmental rhyme; (b) MARABA and 'YAR GAGARA I, which have neither internal nor running segmental rhyme; and (c) KOKO and ISRA'I, each of which does have running and internal rhyme. Each of the other 24 poems - 12 of which have a line as amshi while the other 12 have two lines - has an amshi which rhymes at the syllable

level with the running rhyme of the poem. More significantly, in 21 such cases, the last word of the amshi is either a constant running rhyme-word of the poem (as in BAKI 3), a predominant running rhyme-word (as in AURE), or else a frequent running rhyme-word (as in IBRAHIMA). This fact underlines the structural-thematic relationship between the amshi and the text (see 2.1).

At the tonal rhyme level, the amshi/text relationship is even closer; for while correspondence between the (segmental) amshi-rhyme-word and a significant running rhyme-word in the text occurs, as just stated above, in 21 cases - i.e. with 9 exceptions _ , the tonal rhyme pattern of the amshi corresponds to that of the running tonal rhyme pattern (TPR) of the text in as many as 27 cases. Thus, apart from (a) FAILA, whose TPR is LHH but whose amshi has LHL, (b) MARABA, whose TPR is HL but whose one-word amshi has (L)LH, and (c) TAKA, whose TPR is HH but the amshi has HL, there is identity between the tone pattern of the constant amshi-final rhyme-word and that of the major, predominant or regular running rhyme-word of the poem (see 3.1).

As we turn, finally, to a more abstract and underlying level of structure - viz. prosodic rhythm - we find a still closer correspondence between amshi and text. Here, not only are there as many as 28 poems whose basic metrical structure is identical with that of their amshi, but the two exceptions are also partially related. In MARABA, the first exception, its one-word amshi - shugaba - quantitatively corresponds to the last three of the six basic prosodic slots of the poem thus:

( 1 2 3 ) 4 5 6
(vv(v) vv vv(v)) - v -

In the second exception, 'YAR FILANI, whose amshi is:

Yanpisi sharri, su Alhaji Wane

'Yan gatan tsiya,

the first part of the first line does not bear a close relationship to the first four (internal) lines of the poem's 25 quintains. The second half of this first amshi-line, however, with its pattern v _ v v _ v̲ , is virtually identical with the corresponding portion of the poem's internal lines, which has the pattern v _ v̲v̲ _ v̲ . Furthermore, the whole of the second amshi-line, having the pattern _ _ _ v _ , is virtually identical with the fifth lines of the poem having the pattern _ v̲v̲ _ v _.

To conclude, then, the feature of amshi in Aƙilu Aliyu's poetry is clearly of considerable importance, and it serves both thematic and structural functions at various significant levels, similar to what obtains in Waka I. To these several illustrations given of the close relationship between Aƙilu's poetry and Waka I must finally be added the fact that at least half of these poems with amshi are rhythmically based on traceable Waka I sources (see 4.2).

Outside of Aƙilu Aliyu too, although as far as I know much less frequently, Waka II poets do employ the feature of amshi for some of their compositions. This is briefly exemplified below by reference to seven clear cases, two by Umaru Gwandu, two by Abubakar Ladan (Zaria), one by Sa'adu Zungur (Bauchi), one by the late Shekara Sa'adu, and one by Gambo Hawaja Jos, (originally of Hadeja). Five of these six poems are political, and two religious in subject-matter:

1. 'Yabon Sarkin Gwandu Yahaya' (54/5), an unpublished elegy by Umaru Gwandu with internal but no running segmental rhyme, has as amshi:

Sa maza gudu,

the final verse of which has in addition

Sa arna sake shawara.

2. The other religious unpublished poem, (by Umaru Gwandu) which is much more personal, is entitled 'Gafara Muka Fata Da Wadata Da Tsarewa Daga Cuta' (44/5); is based on the Waka I rhythm of 'Wakar Mulkin Kai' by Mamman Sarkin Taushi, and its amshi is the same as the first line of that of the Waka I:

Murna mukai duniya ta yi dadi.

3. In the three volumes (1961, 1970, 1973) of his well known pan-Africanist poem 'Wakar Hada Kan Afirka' (basically in 281 internally rhyming quintains), Abubakar Ladan has this couplet as his amshi:

Allah, ya Allah, ya Allah,
Hada kanmu Afirka mu so juna.

4. Similarly, in his poem on FESTAC, (a large number of whose verses had been composed by the time of my visit to Nigeria, June 1976), the amshi is an internally rhyming quatrain, thus:

Allah bai raina baki ba,
Bai ko ce a raina baki ba,
Bai ko yi fari ko ja ba,
Domin kaskanta baki ba.

5. The late Sa'adu Zungur's 'Addakari' (see Arnott, Hiskett, 1975, also 4.2 above) has according to many informants the following couplet as its amshi:

Ya Allah, ya Sarki Wuturi,
Ka fitar da Arewa cikin hadari.

6. As the outstanding pro-N.P.C. poet, the late Shekara Sa'adu composed many anti-NEPU poems. One of the most remembered is that with the following couplet as amshi (its exact title has not been ascertained, but this is inconsequential here):

Anyamuran Jihar Arewa mun gane wayonku,

Ba za mu yarda da ku ba sai kun bi Sardauna.

7. Gambo Hawaja is one of the major Hausa poets, who became the "NEPU Officer of Propaganda by Songs" and is regarded (by Akilu Aliyu especially) as one of the greatest modern Hausa poets. Perhaps his best remembered NEPU poem is that published on January 1st 1955, a - wa- rhyming 65-quintain poem whose amshi (which is the same as the title) is:

A yau ba maki NEPU sai wawa.

Thus, even on account of these few examples of amshi from other Waka II poets, the general conclusion may be reached that Waka I has an important influence on Waka II. More specifically, it may be concluded that Akilu draws on this typically Waka I feature in his compositions more than many other Hausa poets.

TABLE 4/3. Amshi-text relationship: thematization & structure

| Poem ref. title | | Amshi length/ type | | | | Thematic class | R-word correspondence & R-syll (underlined) | | TPR Correspondence | | Metrical Correspondence | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | one word | one line | lines 2 | lines 4 | text | amshi | text | amshi | text | total | partial | WI based |
| 1. Ado Bayero | 72/5 | | | + | | III A | (San-)Kano | + | HL | + | + | | - |
| 2. Aure | 110/5 | | | + | | II A | aure | + | HH | + | + | | + |
| 3. Baki 3 | 40/5 | | + | | | IV A | 'Yanpisi | + | HHL | + | + | | - |
| 4. Faila | 80/2 | | | + | | ID | Zamani | + | HL | HH | + | | + |
| 5. Fillori | 55/2 | | + | | | IV A | burawa | -R+r | LH | + | + | | + |
| 6. Guzuri | 47/5 | | | + | | ID | Azare | + | LH | + | + | | - |
| 7. Ibrahima | 116/2 | | + | | | ID | Ibrahima | + | HL | + | + | | |
| 8. Inkwariya | 23/5 | | + | | | IV A | alkadari | + | HLH | + | + | | + |
| 9. Isra'i | 104/5 | | | | + | I A | Zara | -lu | HL | + | + | | + |
| 10. Jakadiya | 103/2 | | + | | | ID | zikiri | + | HLH | + | + | | - |
| 11. Jihar Kano | 53/5 | | | + | | IV A | Neg. ba | + | HH | + | + | | + |
| 12. Jiya | 56/4 | | | + | | IV A | karaya | - | HH | + | + | | - |
| 13. Kicibis A | 221/2 | | | + | | IV B | Tarayya | + | HL | + | + | | - |
| 14. Koko | 124/5 | | | + | | I A | godiya | Neg.ba | HH | + | + | | + |
| 15. Maraba | 50/2 | + | | | | IV A | shugaba | -R-r | LLH | HL | | + | + |
| 16. Maulidi I | 41/5 | | + | | | I A | Allah | + | HL | + | + | | + |
| 17. Maulidi II | 35/5 | | | + | | I A | Allah | + | HL | + | + | | + |
| 18. Maulidi III | 63/5 | | + | | | I A | Muhammadi | + | HLH | + | + | | - |
| 19. Maza | 364/2 | | + | | | IV B | ballewa | + | LH | + | + | | - |
| 20. Rijiya | 23/5 | | + | | | I A | Gwani | + | HLH | + | + | | + |
| 21. Soja | 95/5 | | | + | | IV B | soja | + | HL | + | + | | + |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22. | Somi (a) | | + | | II B | makaranta | + | HH | + | + | | | |
| | (b) | | + | | " | na-na-na | | " | | + | | | |
| 23. | Taka | 143/2 | + | | IV A | raba | + | HL | HH | + | | | + |
| 24. | Tauraro | 28/5 | + | | IV A | zamani | + | HL | + | + | | | - |
| 25. | Ummara | 204/2 | | + | III A | Ummara | + | HL | + | + | | | + |
| 26. | 'Yan Makaranta | 184/2 | | + | II B | manya | + | FH | + | + | | | - |
| 27. | 'Yar Filani | 25/5 | | + | IV A | tsiya | + | LH | + | | + | | + |
| 28. | 'Yar Gagara I | 76/2 | + | | II A | batsa | -R-r | HH | + | + | | | - |
| 29. | 'Yar Gagara II* | *84/5 | | | II A | banza | -R+r | HH | + | + | | | - |
| 30. | Zalunci | 25/5 | + | | IV A | ha'inci | - | HHL | + | + | | | - |
| | | 1 | 14 | 14 | 1 | | | | | | | | |

## 4.4. Summary

When considered from the point of view of Arabic prosody, 39 poems from our corpus (of 79) are found on prima facie metrical evidence to be very close to certain standard classical metres, while 24 others which approximate only roughly to Arabic-type metres are much more debatable; and the remaining 16 are decidedly not Arabic. The second approach to our corpus, which considers Hausa Waka I as the possible rhythmic source, reveals that 35 poems come under this category; of these, 31 have each a traceable Waka I rhythmical model, while for the remaining 4 no specific oral sources have been traced. In this connection, Akilu Aliyu, who has himself composed in Arabic, differs markedly from many other Hausa poets, for he appears to draw as much on Arabic as on traditional Hausa sources for his Waka II, whereas for the other Waka II authors Arabic prosodic models seem to be the major source. Finally, in regard to the use of amshi (refrain or repetend), Akilu Aliyu makes considerable use of this typically Waka I feature, and to a far greater extent than many other Hausa poets of the literate tradition.

# Chapter V: LANGUAGE

## 5.0. Introduction

As might be expected of a prolific poet who began to compose early and is now past the middle period of an eventful life (refer 1.3), the language of Ákilu Aliyu has very many interesting features each of which would be a subject for a full-scale study. For convenience here, however, this last chapter will discuss Ákilu's style in language under three main headings, the linguistic, the rhetorical, and the figurative (as defined below); and at the end of it, by way of illustrating the unity of an Ákilu Aliyu poem as an artistic entity where language as well as other poetic features converge to give a total effect, a short critical commentary of the poem KALUBALE is made.

In the rather specialised senses used here, the linguistic section deals with varieties of poetic licence in language, such aspects as dialect and register, the use of loans from other languages, and linguistic deviation; the rhetorical section deals mainly with parallelism at various levels; and the figurative section with the patterns of imagery in the corpus.

## 5.1 Varieties of poetic licence

### 5.1.1. Dialect and register usage

Although Ákilu Aliyu has so far lived much the greater part of his life in areas other than the Sokoto dialect area (1.3), the amount of Sakkwatanci - i.e. Sokoto dialect - used in some of the poems in our corpus is noteworthy. It will be recalled in this connection that the relatively small number of years he spent in the Sokoto area were in fact linguistically the most formative period of his life. It was, furthermore, during this period, from birth to youth, that Ákilu's first oral verses were composed (1.3). Naturally enough, these early youthful compositions are in Sakkwatanci, and though they do not form the bulk of

our corpus, which is Waka II, these fragments may be used as a starting point for illustrating the use of dialectalisms in Akilu's poetry. In doing so, the first piece, 'Majusu', will be referred to as A and the second, 'Fatauci', as B for convenience. The Sokoto (Sok.) forms are given, followed by their "Standard Hausa" forms (Std.) where necessary or relevant:

(1) the use of the short possessive form of the First person singular -nai (Std. -na) in

ta ware Wane da danginai (A 4 b);

(2) the assimilation of the short feminine possessive link in biday yanzun (B 2 b) (Std. bidar yanzun);

(3) the assimilated Relative Past form in

wuri tas samu (A 5 a) (Std. wuri ta samu);

and

wanda niy yi bara (B 3 c) (Std. wanda na yi bara);

(4) the contracted, tonally different form in

ya ràbkán (B 4 a) (Std. ya ràbkân or rabke ni);

(5) the use of l for (Std.) r in malka (B 3 c); and

(6) the form kwàtárnì (A 5 b) (Std. kwàtárnìyá).

Related to these Sokoto forms are what, from the point of view of Standard Hausa especially, could be regarded as archaisms, though the fact that the poet was a youth makes this arguable especially from the Sokoto dialect point of view. The use of kurum (B 1 a) for the more current shiru, and of tsokaci (B 2 a) for the more current tunani, illustrates this point.

But even apart from these early Waka I pieces, where the use of Sakkwatanci is natural, the dialect is used in Akilu's Waka II, considerably in some poems while in others it is virtually absent, being no more noticeable than in Waka II compositions by other Hausa poets from, say, Kano or Zaria, who employ it more often for its structural function in the metre or rhyme of their verses. In Akilu, who theoretically thus has far greater freedom with regard to the use of Sakkwatanci than such other poets as, say, Mudi Sipikin (Kano) or even to some extent Sa'adu Zungur (Bauchi), several other factors would seem to be involved, such as the period in his life, the subject of the composition, the intended audience, etc., besides the exigencies of rhyme and/or metre. Even in some of the relatively recent poems, for instance, Akilu does make use of the Sokoto dialect as a stylistic device to highlight some underlying thematic element of the subject-matter.

Thus, for instance, in AMSA (41/5), composed about 1971/72, the primary, immediate audience is the fellow-poet Shehu Alkanci, and the theme is apology to him, written on behalf of the Hausa Fūsaha (for inadvertently omitting to send him an invitation to the club's meeting). As the apologetic reply to Shehu Alkanci's own plaintive "Wasika ta Sha'irci" ('Letter in Verse'), it is befitting that AMSA contains some clearly deliberate uses of Sakkwatanci, which is Shehu Alkanci's own dialect, in speech as well as in his epistle. Though sometimes it is possible to observe effects which involve rhyme and metre, it is difficult to be certain whether these were major factors in many cases. On the other hand, there are a number of cases where neither rhyme nor metrical considerations could be upset by the use of readily available non-Sokoto alternatives.

Thus, while in 18 b

A shafi ʃai mu ʃan juya

the use of the Sokoto form ʃai, instead of the Standard ʃaya would result in two short syllables (vv) instead of one long syllable (-) and so break the otherwise regular metrical pattern (at the final slot of the Kāmil v _ vv _ foot) the same does not apply to the use of this same Sokoto form in two other instances, 3 e, and 9 e:

3 e A kullum ba a sau ʃai ba

9 e Ba ka kauce wa ko ʃai ba

Here, ʃai is neither relevant for the rhyme, nor is it pertinent to the metre as two shorts are a frequent variant in this position for one long, as for instance in 4 e where wani is used. Nor would the tonal rhyme pattern (HH) be upset if ʃaya, HH, were used instead of ʃai, H, since they each constitute the same prosodic slot, the Syll-y, of the running tonal rhyme. The same metrical and rhyming considerations apply in the case of zam for zama, 18 e, and of ʃas for standard ʃasa, used in 39 e, though here the running tonal rhyme pattern would have been LH.

Another example of Sakkwatanci is in the use of shi for ya of Standard Hausa, again where neither rhyme nor metre is involved e.g.

32 (a) Shina ʃin masu inkari,

(b) Ga ko ta kwana ba shi bari.

and

33 (a) Shina daga shugabanninmu,

(c) Shikan riʃa taimako namu.

Thus again, while the use of the possessive shi in nashi and

mazauninshi (instead of the Standard nasa mazauninsa) are predetermined by the poet's opting for a -shi internal rhyme by using the verb tashi in the first line of v. 20, thus

Kusan ma yanzu in tashi
Na je har can garin nashi
Saboda kurum na dubo shi
A Tangaza can mazauninshi,
Na ce mishi "Shehu mun tuba",

the same does not apply to the use of the Sokoto form mishi (in e)) for masa; nor in the use of the lexical item shiyya in v. 18 because here, this is itself the very first internal rhyme-word:

(18a) Kadan mun gai da shi shiyya.

Other examples of Sokoto forms include:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| rikai | (13e) | maganarga | (16a) |
| garai | (15d) | zancenga | (23a) |
| laifinai | (22b) | wakarga | (29c) |
| (za) mui | (25a) | shika | (33d) |
| dominai | (25b) | | |
| (saukar) mai | (25c) | | |
| (mu yi) mai | (25d) | | |
| gaisai | (40e) | | |

The intimacy of tone which these Sokoto dialect forms effect serves an underlying rhetorical function in an epistolary apology to a fellow-poet from Sokoto to whose verse epistle (which is in Sakkwatanci itself) Akilu's AMSA is intended as a reply. To these examples of dialectalism must be added those fewer, but rhetorically significant instances of the

exploitation of register: the presence of archaisms e.g. furuci (6a) 'utterance', ka jibince mu 'you have kept on close, intimate terms with us' (19d), gabaninsu 'before this' (36b); and of what Kirk-Greene (1963) calls 'malamanci', or the register typical of the malam class, e.g. horo 'discipline' (1c), tafarku 'right proper paths' (9d), tsinkaya 'foresight' (11b), as well as the use of daga 'from' in the construction kana daga shugabanninmu 'you are among our leaders' (33a). The intimate tone which the dialectalisms effect combines with the sense of respect for age and learning (Shehu Alkanci is a middle-aged Muslim judge at Tangaza) which the archaic and malam register instances convey, to serve an overall oratorical function in the poem.

Sakkwatanci, archaisms and malamanci are somewhat similarly employed in AL'ADU (63/5), which was composed about the end of June 1975 on the specific request of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation (NBC), Kaduna, for its anniversary. More than AMSA, this recent poem contains various types of Sakkwatanci as exemplified below.

1. Lexical items

(a) Simple:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| batu | (title, 3d) | (cf. Std. Hausa: | Zance, magana etc. |
| turba | (32c) | " | hanya etc. |
| dauri | (53d) | " | da, tuni, da farko, probably contracted from da wuri etc. |
| dawo | (56d) | " | fura ) |

The Sokoto dialect has fura too but this term is reserved for the mixed porridge, dawo for the unmixed variety, whereas in Standard only fura is used, for both.

(b) involving morphological variation

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| asshirin | (5d) | (Std.: ashirin |
| shidda | (19e, 45e) | " shida |
| ukku | (45c) | " uku) |

Because of the reduplication, there are metrical implications here, as there are also in haurē (55d), (Std. hakōrī) which involves (a) contraction and assimilation and (b) variation of final vowel: ginā (11d) (Std. ginā); faidā (46c) (Std. fā'idā) which involves contraction; tsaunē (38b), tsanē (38c) (cf. Std. tsauni, tsāni), which involves only final vowel change, but which has segmental rhyme implications; and gagararra (34e) Std. gagararriya.

2. Tense/Aspect

(a) Relative Past

munka (title, 3c, 46e) (cf. Std. muka, which occurs once in kika 35c), with metrical implications

(b) Relative Continuous: ka (cf. Std. kē)

wā ka sanya (13a) (cf. Std. wā kē sonka in (c) of the same verse)

ka kā son (18d) (cf. Std. kakē, which occurs frequently, 14c, 16b, sukē, 48b, mukē, 55b, 56d, & 58a)

(c) Allomorph: shi, Std. ya, without rhyme or metrical implications or involvement

Subjunctive: (har) shi ce (15d)

Alla shi shirye mu (59d)

Continuous: shinā (18b)

Negative Continuous: ba shi son (14e)

3. Copula

abincin manya nā (58b) Std. nē, with rhyming involvement

ad a? : occurs 7 times in running rhyme (8, 15, 47, 48, 52, 56, 57) and is thereby strikingly foregrounded; has implication for running segmental rhyme.

4. Syntactic

Use of ga in the construction, in 46b, with metrical implications:

Wacce ke ga ƙasashenmu

These Sokoto dialect instances in AL'ADU, striking as they are, do not appear to have the same immediacy of suggestion with regard to function as was the case in AMSA above: for, composed to be broadcast at N.B.C., Kaduna, its primary audience is not an individual person but the society as a whole - a fact which is recognized by the poet himself in his metaphorical use of an English loan, in v. 10:

Na zamanto laspika Mai jiyarwa

I have become a loudspeaker the broadcaster (of sound)

On deeper reflection, and an examination of other foregrounded language varieties, a clear, plausible rhetorical function ultimately emerges. These other varieties of language are once again the register cases of archaism (Arch.) and malamanci (Mal.) with its related Arabic (Ar.) loans. As will be noticed from the following classified illustrative listing, some Sokoto dialect forms (Sok.) are also reincluded among some registers - which incidentally reflects the extent to which these varieties of language overlap.

1. Lexical items

furfura (19a) - Arch. cf. sauya

kumfa (35b) - "

turba (32c) - " & Mal.

suturta(wa) (39c) - Mal. & Ar.

bala'i (28d) - " "

siga (29d) - " "

Kamala (17c) - " "

Umda (12e) - " "

ɯmana (11a) - " "

2. Phonological

zāmānī (12a) - Arch. (cf. zāmanī)

haƙiƙa (23d) - Mal./Ar. (cf. hakika)

lāsafī ( 5e) - Mal./ar. & Arch. (lissāfī)

3. Grammatical

(ka) daidaita (17a) - Mal.

" rabbanta (17b) - "

(ta) aibata (wayonki) (38c) - Mal./Ar. & Arch.

Possessive - nshi (Sc, d) - Sok, Arch. (cf. -nsa)

bai 'give' + Noun Object (bayinka) - Sok., Arch.

4. Syntactic

mafi kyan al'ada (11e) - Mal. & Ar.

ƙaramcin imani (37c) - Sok. Mal./Ar

zai duhunta (makwancinki) (41c) - Mal.

labudda (10e, 33e) - Mal./Ar.

5. Tense: Relative Future

na kā (46) - Arch.

ta kā (53b)

AL'ADU is concerned to stress the need for the Hausa people to respect their cultural values, (which are Hausa-Islamic Values) and the convergent effect of the striking use of Sakkwatanci, archaisms, and malamanci would seem to be to serve the underlying thematic purpose of projecting the recognition of Sokoto as a nucleus of Hausa Islamic cultural values.

### 5.1.2. Loans

In addition to the use of dialect and register as aspects of poetic licence, loans from other languages form another noteworthy feature of the varieties of language used in Akilu Aliyu's petry, where one readily observes the great influence of Arabic, some English and Fula, and to a lesser extent some Kanuri and even a few Yoruba loans.

#### A. Arabic

With regard to Arabic influence, the more common fully naturalized loans (see Greenberg 1947, Hiskett, ALS, 6, 1965), which by themselves are hardly critically significant, must be distinguished from the more critically relevant Arabicisms, i.e. Arabic loans which have not as yet been fully naturalized in Hausa. In our corpus, as generally in Hausa Waka II, religious poems tend to have the highest proportions of Arabicisms, followed rather less generally by the political poems; while in other poems, Arabicisms tend to be used more rarely and then mainly for particular stylistic purposes (cf. Arnott, 1975, p. 31). That the religious poetry of Akilu Aliyu generally contains the highest proportion of Arabicisms, however, does not in itself allow much room for a straightforward stylistic interpretation, mainly because this fact is predictable, certainly not surprising, as the poet is a malam who has himself composed some verses in Arabic, verses not only on religious themes but also on a personal topic (see 1.3. above).

In ISRA'I, for instance, whose theme is the imaginative reconstruction of the Prophet Muhammad's spiritual journey, isra'i, and ascent to heaven, mi'iraji, - a theme that has exercised the imaginative pen of many an Arab and Hausa religious poet -, the use of Arabicisms is a pervasive feature of the language. Though metrically based on the rhythm of a Waka I (Shata's 'Bakandamiya'), and though the basic imagery in the poem is Hausa and not Arabic in texture, this essentially religious Hausa poem gives special attention to Arabicisms in several ways. It does so, first, by having only Arabic words - 34 of them - as the running rhyme-words throughout the 104 quintains; and though some of these are proper names, with the theme-word Rasulu repeated a significant number of times, the great majority are ordinary nouns or verbal nouns with few or no recurrences. As the list below indicates also, the -u nominative ending of the nouns - which is usually a feature of unnaturalized Arabic loans in Hausa is used.

(a) occurring more that twice: 8 (= 70)

| | |
|---|---|
| Rasulu | x 30 |
| Jibrilu | x 11 |
| Fa''alu | x 8 |
| dilalu | x 5 |
| Jalilu | x 5 |
| kamalu | x 4 |
| kullu | x 4 |
| Batulu | x 3 |

(b) occurring twice: 8 (= 16)

Bilalu
halalu
Halilu
ishkalu
iyalu
Jalalu
misalu
Nawwalu

(c) occurring once only: 18

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Akilu | Isma'ilu | mahallu |
| alfalu | jamilu | muhallu |
| Alu | Jazzalu | sabilu |
| baddalu | Kasalu | wailu |
| Hammalu | lalalu | Zammalu |
| ijmalu | Linjilu | zulalu |

To these must be added about 50% of the total internal rhyme-words which are Arabic loans in Hausa and are at various stages of naturalization; and some whole lines consisting of wholly Arabic phrases, e.g.

32 c Ibrahimu halilullahi;

while others consist of some interesting combinations of Hausa and Arabic expressions, e.g.

44 a) Abu-Lahabin ya kira kuffari
b) Istihzā'an gun Muhtari,
47 c) Sai suka ce mishi, "Ya sahhari",
66 a) Baban Dahiru anta imamu,
78 d) Su duka sallallahu alaihim
e) Har taslimu gare su Jalilu.

The most prominent example of this is the strikingly parallelistic v. 7 of the poem, where each line consists of 4 words, two Hausa and two Arabic (the latter being the thematically and semantically key words in the quintain) all but one of which begin with the Arabic verbal noun prefix -ta:

7 a) Mai tabshiri, mai tahaziri,

b) Mai tafsiri, mai takadiri,

c) Ba takadimi, ba tahiri,

d) Ba takasiri, ba takasiri,

e) Sai tafsili, ba ishkalu.

'One who brings good tidings, one who brings warning
" " " explanation, " " distils (ideas)
Without undue haste, without undue delay
" " precision, " verbosity
(But) with systematic clarity, without ambiguity

The numerous and striking Arabicisms that thus characterize the language of ISRA'I must of course be due partly to the specific subject-matter of the poem which is unique among the poems classified under the same general thematic religious heading. In some other poems in this religious class, for instance SAKO, which exhales the poet's personal emotions on the sight of departing pilgrims to Mecca, the Arabicisms are in fact very few. Thus although ISRA'I is a little above average, it illustrates the point being made here that Akilu's religious poetry, like Hausa religious Waka II in general, usually contains the most noticeable use of Arabicisms.

As regards the political poetry, which as a thematic class is second to the religious in the amount of Arabicisms it employs, it is to be noted that in some particular poems, one also finds a comparably noticeable use of loans from other languages (such as English and Fula).

In TAURARO, for example, which was publicly performed by the whole NEPU convention of 1958 at Jos, not only are there a good number of more or less naturalized loans (such as al'umma, rashawa, kazapu, haufu,

hassada, azzalumi) but also some specialist or technical terms, e.g. 'aya and ƙisasi in ayar ƙisasi (v. 12 e), nirani (16 e), mihadan, kinaya and Islamic allusions in the form of proper names, e.g. Fir'auna, Kabila, Habila, Alu Yakuba. Again here, where some of the rhyme-words are at various stages of naturalisation, there are a number of Arabicisms which are partly or wholly Arabic phrases:

2 e Allah shi raya Aminu ɗūla zamani;

3 b Allahu in sha'a, kan muka zam wakilawa;

9 e Himmarsu sai su ci haƙƙin kullu insani;

14 e Sannan ku ta da fasadi amru Shaiɗani;

16 d Da faɗar Ma'aiki na Allah ayyuhannasu;

One entire line, v. 19 e, is in fact an Arabic sentence:

Fa na'uzu billahi min sharrish Shayaɗini.

So we-seek-refuge in-Allah from the-evil-machination-of devils.

But in addition to Arabicisms, this poem also contains loans from English, such as mota (17 b), tebur (12 b) 'table' and hedkwata (13 b) 'headquarters', which are naturalized; and sufana (16 b) 'spanners' and the political terms farfaganda (22 d) 'propaganda', dibet (25 d) 'debate' and minista (25 d) 'minister', which at the time were probably in the process of being naturalized. TAURARO thus illustrates the fact that the political poems tend to have a combination of Arabic and English borrowings. The matter of English influence, however, is given separate consideration below.

Turning to the poems with social, moral and cultural themes, one observes that the use of Arabicisms is noticeably rarer than in the

religious and political poetry; and that furthermore, these poems may contain other loans as well.

'YAR GAGARA I, for example, whose theme is prostitution (which it condemns basically from a religious standpoint) contains only a few Arabicisms, e.g.

Zikiri (2 b), the devotional mention of God's name, which in sufism has a special meaning and status, but is here used lightly;

ruwaito (5 b) a technical term in Hadīth scholarship which here, in relation to the prostitule, is used with humorous ironic effect to mean simply 'relate', or 'announce';

sadaki (63 a), also a specialist legal marriage term;

idda (64 a), another specialist legal marriage term;

zindiki (92 b) 'hypocrite';

kala'i (106 a) 'fate, predestiny'.

But it also contains English loans, e.g. suga (47 b) 'sugar' (cf. sukar from Arabic); burki (53 a) 'brakes'; hoda (55 a) 'powder'; pankeke (55 b) 'pancake (powder)'; kwata (60 b) 'one-quarter of a yard of cloth' here; jarum (95 a) 'prison; cell; 'guard-room'; tasha (75 a) 'station'; waya (75 b) 'wire, telephone'.

AL'ADU, which contains several malamanci register expressions (see above under register), has quite a few Arabicisms e.g.

Rabbana (1 e) 'Our Lord'

maula (3 a) 'master'

labudda (10 e) 'without doubt'

lumana (11 a) 'peace, stability'

karni (12 c) century

umda (12 e) 'pillar, support'

haula (16 b)

kamala (17 c) 'completeness, perfect state'

sajjada (20 e) 'prayer carpet'

Jābul Kahri (a prayer book)

Alburda (a book of religious praise)

idda (37 e) 'period before re-marriage'

aiwa! (39 c) 'Yes!'

sahu (43 e) row esp. in prayer

ma'asiyya (43 d) sin, fault, crime

kaddara (44 b) Fate, Destiny

But it also contains some English loans such as laspika (10 d) 'loudspeaker'; fantalo (13 c) 'pantaloon'; (dan) gaye (21 a) 'guy'; and bol (39 a) (foot)ball; soccer; and some related 'modernisms', i.e. expressions referring to specific Western modern ideas, brought in precisely for criticism, e.g.

roka (19 d) 'drugs' (from rocket?);

ciko (23 b) 'a style of hair-cut';

dangarfai (26 c) 'very high-heeled shoes';

izgar doki (40 b) lit. the horsetail hair, here 'wig'.

HAUSA I, which stresses the need for the people to appreciate and respect their language (cf. Muhammad, D1973, p. 52), and, with the more recent HAUSA II, illustrates the nature and richness of the Hausa language, containsvirtually no Arabicisms, though the close relationship of Arabic and Hausa, which either poem explicitly recognizes, is borne out by the presence of naturalized Arabic loans. In HAUSA I (86/2), apart from the long closing doxology (74-86) which contains mostly either proper names of some prophets and leading

figures of Islam (Yahaya, Idrisa, Ilyasa, Haruna, Musa, Isa, Yunusa, Maryamu, Balkisa, Ruhu etc.), or such phrases as a ya Rabbani (76 a, 80 a), Anbiya'ullahi (82 a), Rasulullahi (84 a), only two Arabicisms are observed (one in the body of the poem proper, the other in the doxology: nahisa (35 b) 'calamity, misfortune' and du'a (80 c), which is a less naturalized form of addu'a 'prayer'. Similarly, in HAUSA II (37/5), apart from the few 'prayerful' sections which contain some of Prophet Muhammad's mystic names, as in the phrase Daha wa Yasa (5 e) (34 e), the names of some of the other prophets and major Islamic figures, such as Ilyasa, Yunusa, Balkisa (26) the names of some Fiqh books, e.g. 'Lawwali, Risala (5 c), and the evocation of Allah's name-attributes e.g. Hayyu, Ilahu Kawiyyu (34), only a few Arabicisms are used: umda (which is, however, explained in Hausa in the line:

12 a Babban jami'i ne umda;

hairu da sharru which are the relatively less common forms of their naturalized counterparts alheri 'good' and sharri 'evil'; and bayanu (29 a) which is also a less naturalized form of bayani 'explanation'.

In addition to this noticeable scarcity of Arabicisms, each poem has a couple of English expressions. In HAUSA II there are two such words, rediyo (31 d) 'radio' and burki (37 a) 'brakes' which are virtually completely naturalized; while HAUSA I has Sati (37 a) 'Saturday', which is also naturalized, and the much more conspicuous 'yas' 'Yes', 'Ai si' 'I see', 'halo' 'hullo', and 'gudumōni' 'Good morning' (34 a) - all of which are quoted illustrations of the extremely affected use of Anglicisms in the Hausa speech of some native Hausa speakers, an affectation which the poet condemns.

It has thus been shown that the non-religious and the non-political poems generally have an infrequent use of Arabicisms, and that, on the other hand, they also contain some loans from other languages especially English, which find some representation as well in some political poems.

B. English

The use of what may here be termed Anglicisms - i.e. English loans and their related modernisms - in Akilu's poetry, as for that matter in Hausa poetry generally, does in fact deserve some attention in its own right (for the influence of English on Hausa in general see Ikara, B, Ph.D. thesis, 1975). In addition to what has been observed of this feature in the above poems, the following comments illustrate further what particular topics and general themes are associated with Anglicisms.

Even in the wholly religious poem ISRA'I which is full of Arabicisms, there occur two English expressions which are striking:

68 (a) Domin na yi Shata joni
(b) Wai na ce, 'Hai! Gudumoni!'
(c) Sai suka ce mini dan zamani.

(a) Because I made a rejoinder to Shata
(b) That I said, 'Hi! Good morning',
(c) They called me a modernist.

- striking because of the serious theme and general tone and mood of the poem and because although joni 'joint, joining' is virtually fully naturalized, the second expressions (especially Hai! 'Hi!') are not only not naturalized but highly unexpected for an elderly poet who has not received even a primary Western education and has not learned English.

The situation in CUTA, though still noteworthy, is relatively less surprising than in the religious poems. This poem, which has a personal theme, (the poet's convalescence after his broken leg), contains the following English loans, the majority of which are naturalized (and so underlined):

awa ( 4 d) 'hour'

Sitamba ( 5 c) 'September'

manaja (27 d) 'manager'

asibiti (37 e) 'hospital'

mota (46 a) motor(car)

'Yaspi (56 b) = S.P. = 'Superintendent of Police'

kyas (56 c) '(legal) case'

Kotu (58 c) '(law) court'

The English loans in DAMINA, (a lyrical poem on the rainy season and the related activity of farming), equally contain some surprisingly unexpected instances, for besides daba (5 c) 'durbar', injuna (14 d) 'engines', eka (15 e) 'acre' haya (17 d) 'hire' and tawul (22 a) 'towel', there are the relatively less naturalized cases of tarakta (17 b) 'tractor', kyafe (18 d) 'captain, leader, champion', garambawul (22 d) ? grand/general overhaul' and 'ki-bawul' (22 b) ? 'key-value' all of which are the more striking because of their metaphorical context.

While in these above cases, the Anglicisms are conspicuous, in KADAURA, (on education) and especially in LEGAS, which records the poet's first impression in 1969 of Nigeria's capital city, the great majority are not surprising because they are thoroughly naturalized. The naturalized terms used in KADAURA include Di'o (69 a) = D.O. Razdan (69 b) 'Resident Administrator', Oda (58 b) 'order, law, rule of law', ofis (62 a) 'office', kashiya (59 a) '(bank) cashier', lauya (64 a) 'lawyer, Leriwe (67 a) (or reliwe in another version) 'railway' i.e. railway engine driver, fasinja (67 b) '(train) passenger', gwamna (70 a) 'governor' kwana (41 a) 'corner, turning', tiyata (61 a) 'Surgery, Surgical operation'. The surprising ones include

dokta (60 a, 81 a) in contrast to likita which is the naturalized form of 'doctor';

tica (66 a) 'teacher'

musta (80 a) 'Mister'

bigiman (81 b) 'big man', i.e. an important man, V.I.P.

In LEGAS, the more naturalized English loans are burki (64 a) 'brakes', bos (55 a) 'bus', injin (41 a) 'engine', bankuna (47 a) 'banks (commercial)', kwas (40 b) 'training course', and lamba (88 a) 'number'. The less naturalized loans in this poem are quite numerous proportionally:

I 'Yam Ai (13 a) = E.M.I.

fas (16 b) 'first'

Elzibes (19 a) Elizabeth

Siti-nai (26 b) Sixty-nine i.e. 1969

bol (35 a) football, soccer

ambulan (55 a) 'ambulance' (in contrast to 'envelope' which is the more common meaning of this form)

tifa (55 a) 'tipper' lorry

das (62 b) 'dance' i.e. a modern dance party

farfela (80 b) 'propeller'

Gamman (86 b) 'government' (in contrast to gwammati, which is the naturalized form)

In this poem, there are some modernisms, which are perhaps to be expected because of the subject-matter and the (historical) circumstances in Lagos in 1969:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| babban birni | ( 7 a) | 'capital city' |
| tsohon Kaya na tarihi | (15 a) | 'historical monuments' |
| Bakin Kwata | (21 ) | 'Shore', i.e. the Lagos 'Marina' |
| ɗaki na muɗali'a | (23 ) | library, i.e. Lagos Central Library |
| jirgin yakin ruwan Rasha | (25 ) | the Russian war ship |
| hoton Elzibes | (19 a) | the statue of Elizabeth II of the UK |
| jakadu | (30 a) | embassies |
| filin sukuwa | (35 a) | race course |
| filin bol | (35 a) | stadium |
| gadojin tsallake titi | (36 a) | overhead bridges |
| kwatashi | (42 a) | 'lift' |
| manyan bankunan duniya | (47 a) | major world banks |

In SOJA, a political praise poem for the Nigerian soldiers during the Civil War, the naturalized English loans (mostly military terms) are many (e.g. fenti, banki, manja, danja, gwamnoni, layi, sayi ('sign'), lamba, birki, inji, saja-manja, kanar, hafsa, rijjimanti, leftana, odilan, Esfi (= S.P.), kyaftin, kurtu-kurtu ('recruits'), kurfo-kurfo ('corporals'), ranki ('ranks'), tantoti, milyan, rediyo, tankuna ('tanks'), rokoki 'rockets', awa 'hour'); but the really outstanding ones are few: akwatamâsa (39 a) 'quartermaster'; mashingan (87 b) 'machine-gun', and maganaɗisu (69 b) which may equally well be a loan from the English 'magnet' as from Arabic.

In the NEPU political satire, JIYA , there is the combination of a few Arabicisms and more Anglicisms. The former include these lines:

15 a Ba hilafa babu shakka;

4 a Ya Ilahil Alamina

VII:(a) Dogaro shi ne imadu (b) Fassaɗr fisi fasadu

and v.54:(a) Yau Musailamu har ka allam

(b) Ba a gine shi ba, lam yukallam

The Anglicisms which are a little more noticeable are: Disamba (1 c) December; fenti (28 c) paint(ing); Fisi (11 b) = P.C. short for N.P.C.; farfaganda (51 a) propaganda; Indifenda (51 b) independent.

There are, besides these, the much more noteworthy cases of English loans as in

23 a Kun abin kunya a Nozan
You've done a shameful thing in the Northern (sector)

41 a Za mu dawo Yerwa Tawun
We shall return to Yerwa Town

and, finally,

11 (a) Barno Yus - NEPU alayas
(b) Yerwa Nos an Yerwa Sawns
(c) Mu muke magana a Hawus

(a) Bornu Youth - NEPU alliance
(b) Yerwa North and Yerwa South
(c) We are the ones making speeches in the House

Anglicisms, therefore, are found in varying degrees in the various poems, in religious poems very sparingly, in political poems almost as often as Arabicisms, and in the other thematic classes more for certain particular stylistic and other purposes.

C. Fula, Kanuri and Yoruba

As regards the use of Fula loans, it is not so easy to make the same kind of generalisations, though even here, the political poems tend to have the most, along, of course with loans from other languages.

'YAR FILANI, for instance, which has some Arabic loans, is a NEPU

political poem that contains a number of Fula loans as in v. 24 a-d:

Mahaukacin kare, kangaɗo

Wofi, ragon mutum, somaɗo

Ya jaumirawo Allah bauɗo

Ka sa iya nasibin kaɗo

Hajjar mujiya

(a) Mad dog, mad person, lunatic

(b) Empty head, slacker,

(c) O, Lord-of-all, Allah, the Omnipotent

(d) Make the extent of the share of the non-Fulani

(e) (only) the eyes of an owl.

and v. 23 c-d; where the Fula terms are more or less explained:

Mun soke raƙumi geloba

Mun yanka bunsuru ɗan boba

gēlōba being raƙumi 'camel', and mbōba the he-goat, bunsuru with a black mark ('tears') down its cheeks.

In ZALUNCI, another NEPU political poem, verse 4 contains the following Fula loans:

4 (a) Wake ne a Fulani yimre,

(b) Mun ji kara sunce masa 'yombe,

(c) Karfi sunka kira shi da ƙambe,

(d) Kai Kasabubu abokin Chambe,

(e) 'Yan ƙarya da yawan makirci.

The (religious) song in Fula is yimre

We hear them call a stalk 'yombe

Strength they call ƙambe

Hey, you, Kasavubu, the ally of Tshombe!

Liars, all, and great mischief-makers.

In SANIYA, which is a lyrical composition on the beauties and practical benefits derived from the cow, there are as might be expected, also some of Fula loans:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| kangar | (19 b) | (Fula. Kaaŋgari) |
| dangwala | (37 b) | (Fula daŋgol) |
| Nagge | (53 b) | 'cow' |

In two other poems, ADO BAYERO, a court-like praise poem on the Emir of Kano, and SANSAN, which educates people about the nature and conduct of the 1973 population census in Nigeria, there are some stylistic uses of a few Fula loans. In the former, the prayer-greetings Ala wonane (30 d) and Ala yardakɛ (58 b), serve to remind the person praised (the current Emir of Kano Ado Bayero) of his Fulani ancestry and thereby have an important rhetorical function.

In SANSAN (the word sansan itself is an English loan from 'census'), there are some Fula loans, mainly in the form of a few phrases and some personal Fula names, which seem to be used in order to appeal to the Fula speakers in his audience to give their support and co-operation for the success of the census, serving, in this respect, the same rhetorical function as do the similar Kanuri loans (see immediately below) in the same poem. Perhaps besides Ayuba and kidaya, the whole of the following couplet is Fula:

v. 61 (a) Mi yetti ma Jauro, Buba, Ayuba, Ardo,

(b) Danejo, Baleri, hikka limol kidaya.

I thank you, Jauro, Buba, Ayuba and Ardo,

Danejo, Baleri, "this year (it's the) counting" - counting.

Similar in this respect is TALBIJIN, composed in 1973 to thank the

Broadcasting Company of Northern Nigeria (B.C.N.N.) on behalf of the Hausa Fasaha, where v. 19 contains Fula and v. 20 Kanuri:

Kai madalla Ala barkidim  Min yatti masin Ala mo'yana
Inda watundo kilefiya  Lale wushe barka yanyana.

The Kanuri loans in SANSAN apparently also consist of whole verses (which have been transcribed from the poet's recorded performance but have not been adequately checked by a Kanuri native speaker).

59 (a) Iyaa Gana Yaa kuraa amsaanu amshi
(b) Cinee alkamsu min taataanu hayya

60 (a) Diyoo dookoo karii sammaa kumunde
(b) Cidii Niiyeriyaa samnoo sidiyya;

and serve the rhetorical function of establishing intimacy of tone and hence mutual confidence with native speakers of Kanuri among the audience.

The use of Kanuri loans is similarly stylistically effective in UMMARA as Fula is in ADO BAYERO illustrated above. This poem, also a court-like praise of the late Shehu of Borno Umar Garbai, does however contain some special uses of Arabicisms - such as

61 (b) Domin Wal-Mursalati don Gafira

62 (a) Don suratul mudassir
(b) Domin Wan Nazi'ati don Fadira

which are references to Koranic chapters (the Kanuri being famous in the recitation of the Qur'ān). Akilu's use of Kanuri loans and expressions include the following (again transcribed from a tape recording and unchecked by a Kanuri native speaker):

| | |
|---|---|
| Yaa mairam nee | (refrain, 174 b) |
| dandal kuraa | (20 b) |
| gangaa kuraa | (123 b) |
| amsaa kuraa | (150 b) |
| sooroo kuraa | (186 b) |
| birnii kuraa | (115 b) |
| leepiyaatu | (21 a) |

and a whole verse:

24 (a) Barkaa wusoo wo Gumsu

(b) Yandee kaanuu kuraa a faatoo kuraa.

Less frequent than Fula and Kanuri loans are the Yoruba expressions such as lokabu (SOJA 66 b) adiko (AL'ADU 35 c) ajo (AURE 44 d), and kalo (Jumhuriya II v. 57) which all seem to be fully naturalized in Hausa.

The use of a particular dialect, register or loan is of course a feature of much Hausa poetry - whether oral or written. The immediate audience, the subject-matter, the motive and the period are all factors that contribute to the use or omission of such varieties of language. When professional praise singers compose for an Emir, for instance, one of the most powerful factors in their praise repertoire is the reference to ancestry, religion, bravery, generosity, etc. (Smith, M.G. 1957, Bello, G. 1976, AbdulKadir 1975 Ph.D. thesis). The frequent references in UMMARA for instance, to the Shehu of Borno's dynastic ancestry, to the knowledge of the Qur'an, to bravery in historical battle and to generosity, combine with the Kanuri loans to produce the kind of oratorical and moving effect that the most professional oral court poets achieve in their compositions. In this connection, one recalls Sa'adu Zungur's (and to a lesser extent Mùazu Hadeja's) stylistically rhetorical

employment of these powerful praise factors, combined with the use of loans from Arabic, Fula, Kanuri, Nupe and Yoruba when he addresses the emirs and peoples of Northern Nigeria in his famous political Hausa poem 'Arewa Jumhuriya ko mulukiya'.

5.1.3. Linguistic deviation

Besides the use of poetic licence in the form of dialect, register, and loans from other languages, another important area of linguistic foregrounding is deviation, i.e. the violation of lexical, phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic norms of language. For our purpose in this section, however, morphological and syntactic deviations are given the most attention, partly because these are the most striking and numerous and partly because it is in these that Akilu displays far more linguistic audacity than many other Hausa poets.

The semantic deviations, which involve violations of collocation, belong more to the area of metaphor which is discussed in a later section (see 5 . 3).

As regards phonological deviation - which in general involves elision, aphesis or aphaeresis, apocope, etc. - only two instances of elision have been observed. The first is in the word gauraya ('mixing up') where the y is elided to produce gauraa for the sake of the -ra- running rhyme in UMMARA (v. 24 b). The second is in the word muciya ('a stick used in stirring tuwo') where the close tense vowel -i- and the palatalized semi-vowel y are elided to produce muca in order to achieve a difficult and unique rhyme, in 'YAR GAGARA II, thus:

75 Cinci ka cinci: ina mai cinca?
Sai ga 'yan rigima an wo caa,
Har wata ma da ciki kurcaca,
Dubi idonta kamar 'yar caca,
Ga ƙwabri ya itacen muca.

As for morphological deviations, a few of these involve a form of lexical neologism in their "concept-making power" (as neatly but by Leech 1969, p. 44). The formation of Agential nouns, for instance, -ma- verbal root -ī (in the case of masculine singular) - is very common with many Hausa verbs, e.g. sāk- 'weave', masāki 'weaver'; but it does not usually extend to all verbs in the language. One of the exceptions is the verb root kāg- 'invent, create, usually a storry or lie', which Akilu uses in the normal grammatical, if metaphorical way in RIJIYA:

3 (a) Ka ƙagi ɗan Adam ka ginai.

But his formation of an agential noun from this verb to produce maƙagi amounts to a lexical and morphological neologism; and his several uses of this form to refer to God, as in the following examples, all add up to a double concept: of God's absolute creative powers and man's position as a mere creature:

MAZAJE 1a: Ya Rabbana Maƙagi

SOMI 1a: Ta faɗar Maƙagina na fari faɗata

AL'ADU 1a: Ya Makagina wanda

Similar in this respect is the word mabāyi; also referring to God, formed from bā- 'give':

BEGE: 1a: Ya Wahibu Allah Mabayi; and from daɗ- 'last long' madaɗi in AURE v. 100 b: Sabo ne madaɗi mai ƙauri.

More striking morphological deviations are found in YARO which is

characterized by the concentration in certain sections (see below) of the Agential noun or Adjective formation involving ma-verbal root, where the norm would be mai + verbal noun or noun. Some of these e.g. madaidaici, mashawarci, mahimmanci, and malalaci are not uncommon in daily usage; a few others are mainly poetic usages found also in other poets, e.g. ma'inganci, ma'arzuci, maragaici, and ma'ilmanci; but the majority of the others seem to be Akilu's own daring formations. These are underlined in the illustrations, which give all the relevant verses:

17 Kai dai ka zamo maniyyanci — Kyakkyawa ba mamunanci,
To, ka ka zama mawofinci, — In dai niyya ta fuskanci
Ihilasi ba da gibi ba.

18 In dai ka zamo mawayanci, — To, ko, ka zamo ma'ilmanci,
Ko ba wahala baka ka ci, — Kome zai zam makillanci,
Ba watse butsa a hanya ba.

19 Kai dai ka zamo mahimmanci, — In kai ilmi makauranci,
Girmanka shi zam macancanci, — Tsarinka shi zam madaidaici
Ba za ka shirin shi karye ba.

20 Haskenka shi zam mahaskanci, — Har ma ka zamo mashawarci
Kan al'amari magirmanci — Kai ma ka zamo muhimmanci
Ba shafi-kawai-mu-lera ba.

21 Aikinka shi zam ma'inganci, — Har ma shi zamo magirmanci
Kam al'amari madaidaici, — Ka zarci zama mawofinci,
Ba za ka fadi a haure ba.

29 In dai da sani ma'inganci, — Ka zarci zama malalaci,
Tilas ka zamo ma'arzuci, — Dukkan tsaranka ka zarci,
In su ba su tara ilmi ba.

30 Aikinka shi zam ma'inganci, Girmanka shi zam macancanci,
Zancenka shi zam madaidaici, Ka zarci zama mashashanci,
Sai in ba ka kyamta ilmi ba.

32 Shi ba shi zama maragaici, Ko ko shi zamo masakarci,
Ba ma shi zama magulmanci, Ban dai da shi zam makullanci
Ga waninsa, ba zai yi wannan ba.

And in MAZA (v. 83-87, quoted in full under parallelism), while the majority are normal forms (e.g. matsiwaci, matsiyaci, mazambaci, mawahalci, mahilaci, etc.), the others, makarkaci (84 a, 85 b), madabarci (85 a) and even to some extent mamugunci (87 a) and ma'aibaci (87 b) belong more to poetic usage. Verses 196-198 of the same poem, which, incidentally recall to mind Mu'azu Hadeja's memorable lines in 'Tutocin Shaihu Da Waninsu', v. 70 -

Mazambata, mahilata, Mayawata, mayunwata
Makarkata, mabarnata, Matabbata cikin bata
Don sun kauce gaskiya;

contain instances in common use, but others, like mahambara (196 a) magagara (196 b), and mamangara (197 a) are non-casual formations.

Finally, in MURTALA, there occurs an abnormal Agential noun and an Agential adjective. The first occurs in 22 c:

Sai ga sadauki ya fito mafadi a ji.

The Agential noun mafadi by itself, is common enough, so also is the serial Verbal phrase a fada a ji, and the corresponding Adjectival complex mai fada a ji, as, for instance occurs (in the plural) in KALUBALE 25 a:

Su waye masu fada a ji?

What is abnormal in MURTALA is the incorporation of the root of the first

verb in an Agential noun with the second immediately following in quasi-dependence.

The Agential adjective in MURTALA is mawargaji (20 d):

Sun shekaru tara cif shirinsu mawargaji;

where mai wargajewa would be normal.

Other morphological deviations include the use of the obsolete term gannai (instead of gane-gane) as a plural form for gani, and of ginnai (instead of gine-gine), an aberrant plural form for gini in CUTA:

63 (a) A ji, da zance, gannai

(b) Ruwa, itace, ginnai

As regards syntactic deviation, there are many cases of contraction, omission, addition, transposition and concord violation.

Morphosyntactic contraction may be exemplified by two instances from 'YAR GAGARA I:

a hadan (19 b) for a hada min(i)/man(i)

a sayan ta (50 b) for a saya mata

The omission of da 'and' in a nominal series is of course common in poetry and not unnaturally or unexpectedly occurs with some frequency in Akilu's poetry, as in HAUSA I (38 a), (where the word omitted is shown in brackets):

Kaka,(da) uba,(da) yayunsa, har(da) dangogi;

as also in SOJA (4 c-d):

iyayenmu,(da) mu, (da) diyanmu,(da) jiyokinmu.

Similarly, da (Sociative) is omitted in HAUSA I (62 b):

Duk duniya bakinmu ba shi (da) makusa.

The Copula is also omitted in HAUSA I (37 a) in iyaye Hausa (ne), and in SANIYA (8 b):

In ce maganar yasasshiya (ce).

There is also the omission of the second Negative ba in HAUSA I in several places, e.g.

33 (a) Bai ƶamto ci gaba (ba)...;

68 (b) Ba don a ce mini na fi kowa Hausa (ba);

as well as of the object pronoun in

72 (a) Ban ce ba na ɗara Wane ko kuma na fi (shi)

Various other omissions are found in HAUSA I such as

20 (a) Faufau ba ka ga ba ka ji (wani) mai yare ba;

21 (a) In har akwai (mutum) biyu masu jin Turanci.

In 'YAR GAGARA I, there is the omission of the genitive and personal possessive in (39 a):

Shewar karuwa tare da murna-(rta);

of the Complementizer in (75 b):

San da ya sami wayar (cewa) na taso;

and, in MURTALA (58 d), the omission of the dative:

Mai sosa (wa) al'umma gurabun ƙaiƙayi.

There are also some superfluous additions of various types, the superfluous elements indicated by underlining in the following examples:

HAUSA I (2a): Ga gargaɗi ya zuwa gare mu.

" (3b): Zancen da zan mana shi, mu ji shi, mu amsa.

" (49a): Ba wai habaici ne ba ko kyara ba.

'YAR GAGARA I (40a): Ta fi kare a ƙazamin wargi;

(which may be contrasted with the following line (40b)

Ta fi kado ɗahani ganga ma;

where the preposition a is not added).

Transposition, that is to say, deviation from normal word-order, is also of various types. Again HAUSA I contains instances of the transposition of:

Negative ba, e.g.: (37 a) Bai san ba mako for Bai san mako ba

(72 a) Ban ce ba na ɗara Wane for Ban ce na ɗara Wane ba

Subject, e.g. (29 a) Ta sa ni wannan for Wannan ta sa ni

Adjectives in NP, e.g. (44 a) Ka zam marar ra'ayi kurum kyakkyawa for Ka zam marar ra'ayi kyakkyawa kurum

(15 b) Mugun baƙin sha'anin Bahaushen Hausa for Baƙin mugun sha'ani na Bahaushen Hausa

In 'YAR GAGARA I, one finds

Ba kunya ba take (11 b) for Ba kunya take (ji) ba;

Ba zan sha ba kuɓewa lami (47 a) for Ba zan sha kuɓewa lami ba;

and the particles ma and mana are transposed in the following:

Ma halwa tata saɓon Sarki (36 b) for halwa tata ma saɓon Sarki;

Gara mu ɗau mana hannun juna (46 b) for Gara mu sau hannun juna mana.

Some of the most deviant and complex examples of transposition are found in MURTALA, mostly involving transposed qualifiers, (specifier, adjective, ideophone, etc.). The simpler cases, first, include:

(25 a) Mu yi godiya ga Ubangiji mayawaiciya,
for Mu yi godiya mayaiwaiciya ga Ubangiji;

(22 d) A cikin watanni rak bakwai ya yi agaɔji,
for A cikin watanni bakwai rak ya yi agaji;

(71 d) Tirƙashi! An wa ƙasarmu babba karantsaye,
for Tirƙashi! An wa ƙasarmu karantsaye babba.

More involved cases include

(25 c) Mun wayi ga shi gari a wannan duniya,

for ga shi mun wayi gari a wannan duniya;

(30 a) Yau mun shigo sabon irin wani zamani,

for Yau mun shigo wani irin sabon zamani,

or " " " " " zamani sabo.

Still more complex are

(19 d) Tsare tsoma duk bakin ƙasa wata can waje,

which could be recast as

Tsare tsoma bakin duk wata ƙasa can waje;

and (8 d) Sanya shi, ya Allah, Muhammadu, dausayi,

which could be recast as

Ya Allah, sanya shi, Muhammadu, dausayi.

Concord violation is chiefly in the matter of number, though these too are found in relatively greater proportion than in other Hausa poets. Examples include the use of singular for plural, as in AL'ADU (title): Ga batun al'adunmu Wanda munka sani tunda where wanda 'which' (Singular) could ambiguously be referred to batu (Singular) but where its reference to al'adu (plural) is the much more likely interpretation. In DUNIYA, the examples include

Duk idonta su firfito (51 c), which strictly should be

Duk idanunta su firfito;

and the following instances referring back to a plural noun:

Wanda imani nasu (101 a) for Waɗanda imani nasu

Wanda su daraja tasu (102 a) for Waɗanda su daraja tasu

and 125 b-c:

Rabbana, haska mana/Zuciyarmu da halsuna,

where one expects the plural Zukatanmu (or less likely halshe) for the sake of logical number symmetry.

In CUTA (52 c), there is the 'malamanci' use of treating jama'a 'people' as singular (ta) (as in Arabic) without any metrical excuse:

Ga jama'a ta taru,

followed almost immediately, in 53 a, by the normal plural concord su which also refers to the same noun:

Fadi suke barkana.

Even more closely is the singular 'malamanci' reference to jama'a (ta) followed by the more normal plural (su) reference in ISRA'I (38 a-b):

Raunanan jama'an nan taka,

Su ba za su iya ba kamarka.

This mixed concord treatment of what is afterall a naturalized Arabic loan, though noticeable, is, incidentally, far less striking than the very marked violation by Narmbada when he uses a feminine singular person-aspect marker (ta) for the native Hausa plural subject ('mutane) in his lines:

... Hay yau ban ga inda anka bi mai karya ba,

Amma ita gaskiya gare ta mutane tay yi.

Finally, in CUTA (63 a-c), a singular possessive pronoun form of the Sokoto dialect -nai is used with reference to a series:

A ji, da zance, gannai,

Ruwa, itace, ginnai,

Fa babu mai ikonai...

5.1.4. Enjambment & run-on

Enjambment and the related feature of run-on lines are important in considering the subtle interrelationship existing between the poetic and the linguistic units of structure.

With regard to enjambment, i.e. the running on of one stanza into the following stanza without grammatical break, the general tendency in Hausa Waka II is for stanzas to be syntactically complete and independent entities, though they may very often be related semantically and logically to the neighbouring stanzas. (In the case of Waka I, the feature of enjambment seems hardly relevant, for the simple fact that the presence of amshi (refrain) in most of it clearly marks off the sections, stichs, or stanzas.) This general tendency in Waka II applies in the case of Akilu Aliyu too, though as will be illustrated below, there are some noteworthy exceptions.

In the case of quintain-poems, for instance, where in other poets enjambment seems to be extremely rare, Akilu occasionally ignores the ample chance to complete a syntactic unit in 5 lines by running on into the next quintain, often but not always with the use of the caesura. In CUTA (13-14), for example, the subject is the head-word of the first quintain (Harira), but the verb (Takasa) is not given until well into the following quintain:

Harira ko, ita wannan  Kaito! Uwar 'ya'yan nan
Nawa, Aminu, Sulaiman,  Mariya, Mamudun nan,
San da ta je duba ni,
Ganin masoyi kwanee,  Kafafuwa goggoce,
Ta kasa bakin zance,  Ta dinga kuka karce,
Fadi take yi 'Wai, ni!'

(13) As for Harira, that - alas! - mother of those children of mine - Aminu, Sulaiman, Mariya, and Mamudu -, when she went to see me,

(14) Seeing (her) love a-bed, feet dislocated, she failed to utter a word, (but) kept weeping woefully, saying only 'O, my!'

DAMINA provides another example of enjambment between quintains, by containing the main clause(s) in itsv.14 and making the following v. 15 an adverbial clause (of purpose) syntactically dependent on v. 14. But in this case there is a caesura after the first two lines of the second stanza:

Zamani yau ya juya: Yanzu noman fartanya
Ya ƙaranta cikin dunya; Injunanga na Kimiyya,
Su ya kyautu mu ɗaɗɗauka
Don mu je mu yi ayyukka - Sassabeya zuwa shuka.
Yau ƙasashen Afirka Duk yawanci an farka:
Ba gayauna sai eka.

(14) Times have now changed: nowadays farming with the hoe has diminished in the world; these scientific engines, we better take them up

(15) In order to set about working - clearing bush and sowing. Today African countries are mostly awake: no more the tiny individual farmlets, but acres.

As regards poems in couplets, enjambment in Akilu Aliyu is even more noticeable. In SANIYA (the lyrical poem on the cow), v. 30 is semantically and logically related to what follows; but it is the following trio of couplets that are syntactically enjambed:

(31) Daga nan ya zuwa can, ko'ana, Acikin duka sassan duniya,
(32) Na hanga zaune a hankali, Kuma na maka dubana tsaya,
(33) Wai ko zan gano na yasuwa, Wani dan gutsure daga Saniya.

(31) Hither, thither, everywhere, in every section of the globe,
(32) I have looked far and wide in careful consideration, I have concentrated my searching eyes and I have paused still
(33) To see whether I can perceive something worthless, even a tiny bit, about the cow.

And later, in 46-7, another enjambment occurs:

Amma a wadata ko wace, Daga ko wane fannin duniya,
Jama'u-jama'u duka an gamu Cewa dai babu ya saniya.

(46) But as regards prosperity of any type, from any walk of life,
(47) Groups upon groups of people have unanimously agreed that there is none like the cow.

In LEGAS, v. 33 consists of an adverbial phrase which is dependent on v. 34 (which refers to the statue of the unnamed soldier of World War II):

Kuma duk fadin Nijeriyya, In ban da cikin garin Legas,
Ba za ka ga Yaro Dogo ba Sai dai ka zo garin Legas.

(33) And throughout the breadth of Nigeria, except in the town of Lagos,
(34) You will not see the Tall Youth, unless you come to Lagos.

More noticeable is the enjambed trio of couplets 79-81 of LEGAS, where the poet describes his first impressions of the marvel of the Russian war submarine which was on the Lagos Marina:

Ai jirgi mai nutsewan nan — Da ake yaƙi da shi tabbas,
Mai keta ruwa da ƙarfinsa — Da gudu, ban ga ba farfelas,
Shi ne ya fi ba ni mamaki — Matuƙa a abubuwan Legas.

(79) This ship, which sinks, which is used in battle, to be sure,
(80) Which cleaves the water with its force and speed, whose propellers I cannot see
(81) It is what gives me wonder most among the things in Lagos.

Two other examples, both from SAKO should suffice to illustrate the incidence and variety of enjambment between couplets. The first is between v. 8 and v. 9:

Ya Alhazai, ku tuna da ni — Gun addu'a, kuɗshigar da ni
A cikinta don Sarki Gwani; — Allah shi sa ka faɗar da ni.

(8) O, you, Pilgrims, please remember me while praying, enter me
(9) Into it for the sake of the Omnipotent King; may Allah make you represent me.

The second case is the dependence of v. 12, a time adverbial clause, on v. 11, with a fairly strong caesura in the second line of 12:

Hajiya da Alhaji, muminai, — Ka tuna da ni, ki tuna da ni
In za ku tsini tsakwankwanin — Jifa; Dawafin maɗa ni.

(11) Hajiya and Alhaji, faithful ones, do remember me
(12) When you pick up the pebbles for the Throw; (during) the Circumambulation too (remember) me.

Thus enjambment occurs in Aƙilu Aliyu more frequently in couplet-poems than in quintain-ones. This seems to reflect the general situation among other Hausa poets. For instance, regarding the scarcity of

enjambment among quintain-poems, the only possible example observed outside Akilu is in Sa'adu Zungur's 'Maraba da Soja' v. 38-39, where it might be arguable if one places emphasis on 38 c by recognizing it as the main clause of that quintain, and regarding the relative past in 39 a as typical of the narrative style found all over in the poem. If, on the other hand, one interprets 38 c-d paranthetically, as is the inclination here, then the two quintains are clearly enjambed, and 39 a is the main clause, in which case a caesura can be recognized after 19 c, thus:

Tun shigarku cikin jirage, Har isarku zuwa fagage,
Inda ko wanne ya dage - Tun a Arakan kunka zage,
Kuka kori Japan zuwa Arewa -
Kuka bar mu da tuntuninku, Kullu yaumin sai batunku,
Ayyukanku, da lafiyarku. Yau muna begen ganinku,
Rundunar 'yanci, abin yabawa.

38 (a) Right from the moment of your entry into the planes,
(b) Up to your arrival at the battlefields,
(c) Where each (of you) made a firm stand -
(d) It was at Arakan that you stripped into readiness for action,
(e) And drove the Japanese northward -

39 (a) You left us with thoughts of you,
(b) Each day talking about you,
(c) Your deeds, and your health.
(d) Today we yearn to behold you,
(e) You praiseworthy liberation troops.

For the greater frequency of enjambment between couplets, the following examples from Sa'adu's 'Arewa Jumhuriya...' may be cited:

(a) enjambment between two couplets (93-94):

In sunka sake jama'ar Kudu — Suka hau mulkin Nijeriya,
Daɗa ba sauran mai tambaya, — Kowa ya san zai sha wuya.

(b) between three couplets (141-143):

Matuƙar yaranmu suna bara, — "Allah ba ku, mu sami abin miya!"
A gidan birni da na ƙauyuka, — Da cikin makarantun tsangaya,
Sun yafu da fatar bunsuru, — Babu shakka sai mun sha wuya.

The feature of run-on lines, whereby one line continues into the next line in the same stanza, is a relatively more common feature in Hausa poetry in general, though it is more frequently used by some poets than others. Some conspicuous examples can be cited from Mu'aẓu Haɗeja and Aliyu Namangi, who seem to use run-on lines more than most other Hausa poets. In the following illustrations, it will be apparent that run-on can occur not only in terms of grammatical (i.e. syntactic) units, but more strikingly also within a single word so that the first portion of the word belongs to one line while the remaining portion is carried over into the next.

From Mu'azu Haɗeja's 'Mu Yaƙi Jahilci', the examples include:

v. 20 a-b: Sukan ƙaɗa talaƙawa don
Su ji tsoro gudun wulakanci.

v. 24 a-b: Duk wanda ya karya Oda ba
Shakka za shi san wulakanci.

v. 36 a-b: Ya ce haƙimai su lura su bar
Kowa a cikin salamanci.

v. 38 a-b: Ya ceda ma'aikata ba sau-
ran karbar kudi wurin hanci.

v. 42 a-b: Domin ilminsa ko ko shi nu-
na dan Wane ne wurin 'yanci.

v. 57 a-b: Da kalmarsa an fada misun-
derstanding gami da Turanci.

And from Aliyu Namangi, who seems to have special predilection for and mastery of run-on lines, the following few examples from Imfiraji vols I & II should also suffice:

Vol I (Imfiraji)

v. 19 a-b-c-d-e: Rabbana ya bad da wanjin
Masu kinsa, saboda kunjin
Arzikinsa; ya haske kirjin
Annabinsa; aboka, bar jin
Maganarsu, ba sui muwafaka ba.

v. 40 a-b,c-d-e: Na taho Manzo in gaishe
Ka, zababbe isasshe,
Kar ka bar Shedan ya basshe
Ni, don haka ko da yaushe
Na tuna ka, ba nai bakin ciki ba.

v. 50 a-b-c: Shi ya ce maka, 'Marhaban, ya
Masoyi wanda shirya
Na gare shi, kusanta gaya,
Mai jidali, dubi aya,
Ka ga kalma ba ta gardama ba.

Vol II (Imfiraji)

v. 24 a-b,c-d: Shi kinin jaki da doki
Ne, zuwa gwanki da kanki,
Kokarinsa shikan fi auki
Ne a ƙara dare da taki,
Bai damu da wanke jannaba ba.

v. 26 a-b,c-d: Shi fa jahilci ya sarbu
Ne na kafirci ga aibu,
Wanga zance ya zamo bu-
ɗin batun Malam Habibu,
Da shi kam mana ba abin musu ba.

In Akilu Aliyu's poetry, run-on is relatively infrequent, and one of his outstanding characteristics is his general tendency to express his meaning concisely and crisply within individual lines. Nevertheless, one certainly does encounter a good many instances of variation from one poem to another, this no doubt being connected in most cases with the length of the line, for run-on is more likely to occur in a poem consisting of short lines than in one where the lines are long. It will be sufficient to illustrate from SAKO which is outstanding for having many run-on lines.

The run-on style of this poem can be classified into three major types. In the first category belong those cases where although the end of the lines clearly does not coincide with the major syntactic breaks, there is nevertheless the potentiality of a pause:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2 a-b: | ... kun ga ni | Dimbin bukata ce dàni. |
| 3 a-b: | ... tun tuni | Nika son a je Makatan da ni. |
| 7 a-b: | ... wani Zamani | Gaba za a hau Arfa da ni. |
| 8 a-b: | ... ku tuna da ni | Gun ɑɖdùa, ... |
| 19 a-b: | ... mu je da ni | A cikin gajeren Zamani. |
| 30 a-b: | Ya Rabbana dawo da su | Kuma lafiya, su tarar da ni. |
| 36 a-b: | ... Rasulu abin yabo | A gare ni ... |
| 38 a-b: | Na ba ku sakon gaisuwa | Gun Musɗafa... |
| 51 a-b: | Hannunsa hannuna kuwa | Mahmudu zi damka wa ni. |

In the second category, the possibility of a pause potential is completely ruled out, the break occurring between a preposition and its pronoun, within a genitival complex, a verbal complex etc.:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3 a-b: | (Sai dai yawan rauni) gare | Ni,(akwai rashin karfi a ni). |
| 12 a-b: | (In za ku tsini) tsakwankwanin | Jifa (; Dawafin ma da ni.) |
| 15 a-b: | (In har ka sa baki) ina | Jin (ai ziyarar ma da ni.) |
| 21 a-b: | (Jirginku can da shike) dirin | Tashinsa (ya rikitar da ni). |
| 33 a-b: | (Ni ne Akilu Aliyu) ke | Salama (da ko wane mumini). |
| 37 a-b: | (Kun dai ji sakon nan da) nai | Muku (Alla sa ku maye wa ni). |

The third and final category of run-ons involves the breaking up, not of a syntactic or grammatical unit, but of a word or even a proper name such that some of its syllable(s) are carried over into the following line:

25 a-b: Sai hankalina ya tuman- -ya a kan rashin tafiya da ni.

26 a-b: Don ni Ákilu akwai-ya-ba- -bu na zam a wannan zamani.

32 a-b: Amina, amin, Rabbu, a- -min, don huwacewar Gwani.

35 a-b: Ku yi gaisuwa ga Rasulu Ka- -kan Alhasan, ku isar wa ni.

47 a-b: In je Madina gurin Muham- -madu ne sahihin magani.

53 a-b: Na gai da Maulana Muham- -madu dai Jakada, mumini.

56 a-b: Matansa, 'ya'yayensa, A- -lu, Sahabu, na gaishe ku, ni.

## 5.2. Rhetorical patterns

Parallelism, any form of which is "an apportionment of invariants and variants" (Jakobson, B. 1966, p. 423), in other words a combination of similarities and differences between two or more linguistic units, is the chief feature of foregrounding considered in this section; and though various distinct levels should ideally be established - phonological, morphological, syntactic, thematic, semantic, etc. - it is in practice often difficult to separate them, as several levels are normally involved in any one instance.

### 5.2.1. Phonological

At the phonological level, HAUSA I is the poem that has the greatest concentration of foregrounding in the corpus, containing as it does the most striking alliterative, ideophonic and phonaesthetic features. This stylistic feature, the interpretation of which incidentally is of some relevance to the ongoing critical controversy over the relationship between content and form, can conveniently be divided into two main categories.

In HAUSA I, there is, first, the use of relatively simple and straightforward phonological foregrounding where the alliteration has a natural, unstrained and smooth effect, and the figurative language which

is often though not always involved, lends itself easily to interpretation. In the very opening couplet of the poem, for instance, it is noticeable that each of the two lines begins and ends with the same sound, sa. This, it is to be recalled (see 2.3.1 above), is associated with the feature of Qasida-opening rhyme, whereby the predominant running rhyme (and at the same time the theme-word, Hausa) is brought into prominence at the very outset. Besides this, however, it is noteworthy that the sound s is furthermore foregrounded, occurring twice in the middle of the first line and once in the middle of the second line of this opening couplet as underlined below:

1 (a) Saba da samo gaskiya duk nisa

(b) Sarari da ɓoye idan ka so bunkasa

It is significant to note that in (a) samo is the poet's own preferred substitute for the nemo of his earlier version (although this nemo in fact would give a different alliterative pattern with an n-initial word, together with nisa, at comparable points in the middle and end of that line). Similarly in the 14th couplet, the thematically key stanza where the full title of the poem -'Hausa Mai Ban Haushi'- is introduced or reproduced, one cannot miss the foregrounded alliterative use of the sa sound:

14 (a) Saurin musaya Hausa mai ban haushi,

(b) Sassake sauyi an sakar wa Hausa.

Considering that in Hausa s + i = shi, the shi of haushi in (a) may also be included in this phonologically foregrounded s pattern.

In v. 26, the situation is slightly different, the first line alliterating the labial and velar plosives, b, g, k, with the corresponding nasals, m and ŋ; while the second line continues with the

s/sh/c alliterative trend:

26 (a) An bar mu gangambu kago ba jinka,

(b) Wasu can su sha inuwa ɓagas lallausa.

The mainly plosive texture of the first line - which is a metaphor that describes vividly the hard and intolerable exposure experienced by Hausa native speakers - contrasts with the softer fricative and affricate sounds of the second, which metaphoricaly describes the free, soft shade enjoyed by others who though not native to the language benefit even more from using it.

Verse 28 develops this theme but varies the pattern:

28 (a) Ba cas bale as ba da kau da kara ba,

(b) Swaɗwaɗwas su sulle can su sha ɓungasa.

In the first part of 28 a, as well as in the whole of 28 b, there is an alliteration is s. But the two s sounds in (a), cas and as, occur in onomatopoeic ideophones which are normally used in scaring away animals and birds, and are therefore negated (Ba cas bale as); and the remaining consonants in that first line are almost plosives (ba da kau da kara ba). Thus the two-fold pattern of alliteration in 28 a consists of either fricative ideophones suggesting fright and unease, or plosives which convey a sense of weight and hardship - states and situations which are not the lot of those fortunate ones referred to in 26 b, and who in 28 b find things easy and enjoyable, as suggested once again by the preponderance of fricatives combined with implosives and laterals.

In a small way, a single line may convey this sense of the contrast between the wretched plight of one group and the good fortune of another. Thus in 58 b, half the line has a different alliterative texture from

the second: the voiced nasals and plosives on the one hand, and the laterals, implosives and fricatives on the other:

58 (b) Mu za mi dangwala ɗis waɗansu su lasa.

On the other hand, a whole couplet which is concerned with emphasizing to the Hausa people how much effort and hardship they have to go through in order to achieve the desired goal of the poem, is full of a combination of plosives and ejective glottals, with the harsh voiced z:

56 Mu tsaya da ƙwazo, ƙoƙari da kuzari
Tsaiwar daka mu tsaya mu kange Hausa.

Finally, there is the straightforward, almost natural alliteration of ka, in 426, which, coming after the preceding couplet's imagined and dramatized failure of a native speaker to explain the meaning of a particularly rare word (kasherēkē 'the West African Hadada ibis'), has a chiding effect:

42 (a) Wannan abin kunya in tamkatai
(b) Harshen wajen kakanka kai ka kasa.

What can be compared to this shameful situation -
Your failure to master the tongue of your forefather?

The second category of phonological foregrounding in HAUSA I is that in which alliteration and ideophonic onomatopoeia are excessively used, often together with highly figurative and elliptical language, a combination which makes it much harder to interpret. In this connection, note may be made of the fact that some Hausa poets are sometimes inordinately fond of this stylistic device, generally with the aim of displaying their wide knowledge of the Hausa language (sometimes by the use of recondite vocabulary) and their skill in fitting words to their

metrical and rhyme framework. Thus in Mudi Sipikin's 'Karangiya', composed before Akilu's HAUSA I, and in Ibrahim Yaro Mohammed's four poems - 'Yar Bahaushiya, Zabuwa, Garkuwa and Tsamiya - which were published after HAUSA I, and even to some extent in Baba maigyada's 'Harshen Hausa', the sole aim seems to be to string together words which begin with the same sound and occasionally have further alliteration, sometimes with, but often without concern for immediate semantic or overall thematic significance, a style that is thus apparently considered an end in itself.

Although highly allusive diction is in general a typical feature of Hausa satire which has hardly begun to receive some of the attention it deserves (see Gidley, 1975), and although some of Akilu Aliyu's poetry, especially the political satires, can be highly allusive, the excessive alliterative and onomatopoeic verses of HAUSA I, though formidable at first sight, are not all completely impossible to interpret in relation to the basic theme of the whole poem. In some cases, indeed, the function of these can be appreciated within their immediate thematic context. Thus the first obtrusive case of phonological foregrounding, the eleventh couplet, which is an arresting example of alliterative, ideophonic and onomatopoeic parallelism consisting of vowel assonance and consonance based on k sound can be summarily interpreted as depicting, on one hand, the gigantic, enormous and formidable task that lies ahead of the Hausa people if they really mean to promote and enhance their own language, and, on the other, their ill-equipped sleepy-headed indolence:

11 (a) Sukukun makaka kiki-kaka kaf kinkim,

(b) Tirkashi! aiki ya yi kwancin kasa.

As can be observed, there are eleven k sounds in the first line, a line of 13 syllables. All the words in this line are ideophonic and, to a

lesser extent, phonaesthetic: sukukun suggesting hugeness and unmovability; makaka (with contrasting tones) (cf. Arnott, 1957 on Fula word-play) suggesting might and enormous size, and both conveying a sense of awe; the compound ideophonic kiki-kaka, again with contrasting tones matching the contrasting close and open vowels, suggesting a hard and intense struggle, pulling now this way now that; kaf, "completely, entirely, to the very last", with its overtones of utterness, extremity and intensity; and kinkim, suggesting enormous size and weight. Even without such glosses, however, the ideophonic and phonaesthetic effect of these words of the first line could perhaps be apprehended as referring to some formidable gargantuan undertaking in the form of a very challenging struggle (cf. Muhammad, D., 1973). To these consonantal and tonal effects, moreover, must be added the feature of assonance, whereby the words in this first line can be grouped thus:

u sound: sukukun

i " : kiki, kinkim

a " : makaka, -kaka, kaf

In the second line of this 11th couplet, there is not the same excessive alliterative clustering, and there are no ideophones or phonaesthesis. The first word, tirkashi, is an exclamation usually used on realizing the enormity or hopelessness of a situation; and kwancin kasa conveys a sense of extreme inertia (as when the puff-adder, kasa, has its notoriously long sleep). With its relatively slight alliteration (with k in tirkashi and k in aiki, kwancin and kasa), and the even less prominent consonance of s and its related sounds (in tirkashi, kwancin and kasa), the unmistakable total effect of the first line is virtually absent, and this accords well with the opposed themes of the two lines: the enormity of the task ahead, and the slight chance of success. When

to this conclusion of the thematic significance of phonological foregrounding in verse 11 is added the theme in the couplet before it (v. 10), which forewarns of the poet's declared intention to proclaim 'the bitter truth' (gaskiya ɗaɗɗata, 9a, gaskiya mai ganci,10), the excessive alliterative, ideophonic and phonaesthetic style of the eleventh verse can clearly be appreciated as aphonologically parallelistic foregrounding that is significant in the immediate thematic context.

On the other hand, in the following couplet, verse 12, though it is possible to attempt an internal interpretation of the lines, there does not seem to be any significance in relation to the immediate thematic context:

12 (a) Tsotso tsuku tsagiya tsare mafitsara
(b) Allats tsare ni da ku karo da nahisa.

Sucking, grating, bilharzia block-bladder
God preserve me and you from encounter with disaster.

In the whole of the first line of this couplet each word either begins with, or contains the ejective sound ts, which also occurs in a geminated form in the first two words of the second line. The allusive, elliptical and figurative language of this highly alliterative first line contrasts with the much more straightforward second line which clearly prays for protection from the symbolic malady of the first line. This possible internal thematic unity of the couplet is not readily relatable to the immediate thematic context at this stage of the poem (except of course as a rather metaphorical allusion to the unpleasantness of the task referred to in v. 11).

This problematic 12th couplet may be matched by another couple of verses in HAUSA I which are, phonologically, even more strikingly foregrounded and, thematically, even less easily open to immediate contextual interpretation (as the literal translation that follows makes clear):

70 (a) Kwāra kwarī kwararo kwaroron kūra

(b) Kōre kare kurbātsi karyar karsā.

Pour-forth valley gully hyena's palmleaf-bag

Drive-away dog grab-at bitch-assistant.

and

71 (a) Rāgo rago rogo ragowa rāga

(b) Rugugī rugurguza rungumar gargāsa.

Ram slaggard cassava remainder hammock

Rumblings smash-to-pieces clasped-embrace- of hairy-bulrush-millet.

The patently excessive phonological parallelism of these verses, together with the very cryptic and elliptical language, belong to the highly allusive diction that characterizes some Hausa poetical styles in which 'sense' in the ordinary use of the word is of little importance in relation to the verbal virtuousity involved. This stylistic trait is found in various literary genres - Hausa tongue-twisters, riddles, proverbial lore, word play, etc. - and is practised not only by verbal virtuoso entertainers ('yan magana) but also occasionally by poets.

In HAUSA I, however, these are no mere verbal tricks but reflect an

important part of the basic two-fold thesis of the poem in general but especially in the key stanza, namely that in its dynamic, changeable and changeful nature Hausa is an exasperating language (saurin musaya Hausa mai ban haushi -14 a) - one which in its infinite flexibility and fluidity is peerless (sassake sauyi an sakar wa Hausa - 14 b). it appears reasonable therefore to conclude from this interpretation that in this poem the apparently extravagant phonological parallelism is a stylistic feature that not only displays the poet's skill with word play in verse but reinforces the poem's thematic argument in its urgent call to the Hausa people for a proper and positive appreciation of the richness of their language.

As parallelism is concerned with similarity in some area or areas and contrast in others, to some extent even metre and rhyme (segmental and tonal) may strictly be considered as an aspect of phonological parallelism: in the case of the former, two lines may be metrically identical while the actual words differ; and in the case of the latter, two lines may end in the same segmental sound while their other elements differ; or the two lines may have tonally identical rhyme patterns while the actual words bearing the tones are different. The features of metre and rhyme, however, being conventional matrices related to external deviation in Hausa Waka II, have been treated separately in the preceding chapters and are therefore not considered further here (see Levin, S.R. 1964).

Nevertheless, the case of two whole lines which differ entirely in their actual words but whose overall tonal patterns are completely identical, may justifiably be regarded as a form of parallelism, since this is not a regular feature of Hausa poetry.

In v. 8 of SAKO, for instance, a poem which has tonal rhyme

(internal as well as running) in LH pattern, the 8 prosodic slots that typify the poetic lines have in this couplet an identical tonal pattern:

(a) A Ṣa- fa da Mar- wa tu- nin- ku ni

(b) Ar- fa ku hau ta ga- mi da ni

At Safa and Marwa, let your remembrance be of me;

Mount Arafat, climb it together with me.

| prosodic slots | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| tones (a) | LL | H | L | H | LH | L | L | H |
| " (b) | L | H | L | H | LH | L | L | H |

But it is lines between which there is a partial identity of tonal patterning that can more properly be regarded as constituting tonal parallelism. This can be illustrated by the 47th couplet of this same poem, where the first and the second lines are tonally identical except in their first and fifth prosodic slots:

47 (a) In je Madina gurin Muham-

(b) Ma du ne sahihin magani.

To go to Medina the place of Muhammad is the real cure.

| prosodic slots | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| tones (a) | L | H | L | H | LH | H | L | H |
| " (b) | HL | H | L | H | L | H | L | H |

And the tonally contrasting 1st and 5th slots show some degree of symmetry, for the single low tone (L) of the 1st slot of (a) corresponds

to the single L of the 5th slot of (b); and the LH of the 5th slot of (a) is the exact reverse of the HL of the 1st slot of (b).

5.2.2. Morphological and Syntactic

Cases of morphological and morphophonological parallelism are very often closely linked with syntactic parallelism. The political poem MAZA, and the educational poem YARO, for instance, have conspicuous examples of morphophonological parallelism - mostly of agential nouns - accompanied by or embodied in parallelistic syntactic patterns.

MAZA: verses 83-87:

83 (a) Matsiwaci, matsiƈyaci, (b) Mazambacin tsinewa
'Insolent one, pauper a cheat(deserving)to be cursed'

84 (a) Makarkaci, mawahalci, (b) Mahaukacin ɗaurewa
'Deviator, sufferer; a lunatic to be tied up'

85 (a) Mahilaci, madabarci, (b) Makarkacin kaucewa
'Deceiver, trickster; an elusive crook'

86 (a) Maci-amana, macuci, (b) Maci-kuɗin sacewa
'Treacherous, injurious one, a misappropriator of stolen money'

87 (a) Maƙiwaci, mamugunci, (b) Ma'aibacin ɓatawa.
'Lazy, iniquitous one, destructive in the extreme'

This sequence of 5 successive couplets from MAZA, which contain a series of abusive epithets applied to the rebel leader Ojukwu during the Civil War, are syntactically parallel, for each first line consists of two singular agential nouns followed in the second by an agential noun + n +

Weak Verbal Noun. All the agential nouns (except in v. 86) are quadrisyllabic with HLLH tone pattern; and in v. 86 there are two compound agential nouns (maci-amana, maci-kudi) themselves forming a separate parallelism in line-initial position, and one trisyllabic (macuci). The agential nouns all have a parallel morphological structure ma + V + i; and the weak verbal nouns at the end of the second lines are all in the fourth grade of the verb with the single exception of ɓatawa (v. 87), which is Grade I.

Phonologically, all the agential nouns end in -ci, and all such line-initial nouns end in -aci; furthermore, tsi occurs three times in v. 83, -au occurs three times (twice in the Cau Cewa of 85 b and 86 b), k thrice in 85 b, and in 86 we have -ci... -cuci and -ci- and -ce-. Thus, despite the repetition of makarkaci, (in 84 a, 85 b), there is a high degree of foregrounding in this syntactically, morphologically and phonologically parallel succession of 5 couplets, which thus highlights the theme of the section: abuse of Ojukwu.

Later in the same poem (vv. 196-8) where the Federal troops are praised, there is a similar heightening of the theme through a comparable though less striking use of parallelism:

196 Mahamɓara, mamugunta, Magagaran gogawa
'Hard kickers, unscrupulous, difficult to compete with'

197 Mamangara, kutufewa, Masu yawan makewa,
'Hard slappers, punch! ever knocking (others) down'

198 Mahimmata, ma'anita, Masu yawan harbewa;
'Determined, resolute ones ever shooting down'

As in the earlier passage, the parallel syntactic pattern for each

couplet here is N, N, NP, though here instead of singular, it is plural agential nouns that constitute the morphological-cum-syntactic parallelism. In v. 196 the structure is identical with that in vv. 83-87 above (with the substitution of plural for singular), i.e. plural agential noun + plural agential noun in the first lines, and plural agential noun + n + Weak Verbal Noun in the second. In vv. 196-198 the plurarl agential nouns are in positions thus:

1, 2, 3 in v. 196
1 " 197
1, 2, " 198

and the remaining lines 197 b and 198 b have an Adjectival Complex masu yawan + Grade 4 Verbal noun.

Phonologically, there is parallelism in vv. 196-7 with their frequency of m...g, especially the g in 197 b (magagaran gogawa) in addition to the similarity of magagara (196 b) and mamangara (197 a) which occupy an identical initial position in the two lines.

Finally, again in MAZA, another case of parallelism occurs at the syntactic, morphological and phonological levels in two consecutive couplets:

311 (a) Nsuka kun soke ta (b) San da kuke sakawa

'Nsuka, you pierced it when you were avenging'

312 (a) Ogoja kun gaje ta San da kuke gabzawa

'Ogoja, you occupied it when you were clashing in battle'

The syntactic parallelism between the two couplets consists of

(a) Proper noung of place as topicalised object + Subject pronoun + Verb + recapitulatory object pronoun, and

(b) a temporal Adverbial Clause introduced by San da.

In both couplets there is the alternation of a General Past tense (first lines) with a Relative Continous + Weak Verbal noung (second lines); and in both couplets, the verb in the first lines in Grade 4 (soke, gaje), while the verbal noun is Grade 1 (sakawa, gabzawa).

Phonologically there is, first, tonal identity between the two couplets, both having the pattern

(a) L H L H H L H (b) H LH L H L H

There is also the parallel alliterative sequence s...k in Nsuka, soke, and sakawa (first couplet), and that of g... zɨj in Ogoja, gaje, and gabzawa (second couplet), which suggests a subtle kind of punning.

Similar to this highly foregrounded parallelistic effect in MAZA, is that found in YARO, where again besides the morphophonological, there is also syntactic parallelism in 5 consecutive quintains:

17 Kai dai ka zamo maniyyanci, Kyakkyawa ba mamunanci,
To, ba ka zama mawofinci, In dai niyya ta fuskanci
Ihilasi ba da gibi ba.

18 In dai ka zamo mawayanci, To ko ka zamo ma'ilmanci,
Ko ba wahala baka ka ci, Kome zai zam makillanci,
Ba watse butsa a hanya ba.

19 Kai dai ka zamo mahimmanci, In kai ilmi makauranci,
Girmanka shi zam macancanci, Tsarinka shi zam madaidaici,
Ba za ka shirin shi watse ba.

20 Haskenka shi zam mahaskanci, Har ma ka zamo mashawarci
Kan al'amari magirmanci, Kai ma ka zamo muhimmanci,
Ba shafi-kawai mu lera ba.

21 Aikinka shi zam ma'inganci, Har ma shi zamo magirmanci,
Kan al'amari madaidaici, Ka zar'i zama mawofinci
Ba za ka fadi a haure ba.

As can be clearly observed, 18 of the 20 internal rhyme-words of these five successive quintains are singular agential nouns or adjectives (ma + V + ci) and 14 of these end in -anci, two in -inci, and another two in -aici. Along with this morphological feature, it is also observable that the syntactic pattern S + V + O (the object being mainly the agential noun or adjective), is paralleled in other lines; and that zam, zama and zamo are parallel allomorphs of the same verb stem. This happens in 14 lines (17 a,b; 18 a,b,d; 19 a,c,d; 20 a,b,d; 21 a,b,d); and further variation in the parallelism is provided by the alternation between 2nd and 3rd person singular subject pronouns. In four other lines (17 b, 19 b, 20 c and 21 c), the agential adjectives serve to qualify a noun.

The 18 gential nouns or adjectives, of which 3 are repeated twice each, are all quadrisyllabic with the same tone pattern H L L H and the same quantitative pattern, v _ _ _ . There is an alliterative echo of mahimmanci 'resolute' (19 a) in muhimmanci, 'important' (20 d); and semantic parallelism between the antonyms kyakkyawa 'good' and mamunanci 'bad' in 17 b, and between the synonyms mawayanci 'wise' and ma'ilmanci 'enlighted' in 18 (a) and (b).

AURE, verse 13, provides yet another good example of the

convergence this time in one stanza, of various levels of parallelism:

13 (a) Ba mai gemu ko saje ba,
(b) Ba mai mota ko babur ba,
(c) Ba mai faffaɗar riga ba,
(d) Ba mai gogaggen wando ba:
(e) Mai magana kafe tamkar ƙyaure.

In this quintain, which describes the kind of person whose daughter one should seek in marriage, there is, first, a general thematic parallelism, whereby the first four internal lines portray the prospective father-in-law negatively (by elimination), while the last line portrays his moral character positively and emphatically:

13 (a) Not one with a beard or whiskers,
(b) Not one with a car or motorcycle,
(c) Not one with a large flowing gown,
(d) Not one with smarthy pressed trousers:
(e) But one whose word is firm-set like a metal door.

Syntactically, (a)-(d), which are anaphoric and negative, have a similar structure, basically ba + Adjectival Complex (mai + Nominal Phrase) + ba; there is closer syntactical parallelism between (a) and (b) (where the NP consists of two nouns linked by ko), and again between (c) and (d) (where the NP consists of a derivative Adjective + n/r link + noun. (e), which is in the affirmative, has a different structure, but it too contains an Adjectival Complex beginning with mai.

Besides this general thematic and simultaneous syntactic parallelism, there are further detailed symmetries in the verse. The semantic items in (a) - (d) all pertain to temporariness, while (e) pertains to constancy or permanence. In (a), gemu 'beard' and saje

'whiskers' are natural personal features, the appearance of which is traditionally associated with age and respect; in (b) mota 'car' and babur 'motorcycle' are acquired possessions which are associated with modernity and material prosperity; the faffaɗar riga 'large flowing gown' of (c) is a traditional symbol of dignity, self-satisfaction and comfort; and the gogaggen wando 'smartly pressed trousers' of (d) connotes modernity and affluence. Thus (a) and (c), on the one hand, and (b) and (d), on the other, are thematically related through their sociological associations. As, however, all these are physical transient features which give only a superficial impression of prestige, alluence and respectability, lines (a)-(d) are together countered by (e) in which emphasis is given to a more inherent, underlying and permanent aspect of man's character, namely steadfastness - a quality that, significantly, is described figuratively in a simile-cum-metaphor (magana kafe tamkar ƙyaure).

It is also worth noting that while the key semantic items which are parallel in (a)-(d) are all concrete nouns, that in (e) is an abstract noun, an abstract which is figuratively concretized in two senses (both in the metaphorical use of kafe 'firm-set, fixed', and in the simile tamkar ƙyaure 'like a strong metal door').

Morphologically and phonologically, these six concrete nouns in (a)-(d) combine similarities and contrasts. All are disyllabic with long syllables; and while the two semantic pairs in (a) are tonally contrastive - gemu : saje -, so also are the pair in (b) - mota : babur. This means that lines (a) and (b) are structurally and tonally parallel:

(a) Ba mai gemu ko saje ba

(b) Ba mai mota ko babur ba

i.e. tonally: L L HL H LH H

The second pair of lines, (c) and (d), are similarly related, being tonally and quantitatively identical, but they differ slightly in that respective qualifiers - faffaoa : gogagge - have different morphological derivations:

(c) Bā mai faffāɗar rīgā ba

(d) Bā mai gōgaggen wandō ba

There is thus in this verse of AURE what Levin (1962, 1970) calls 'coupling', a syntagmatic and paradigmatic network of parallelism of various kinds (thematic, syntactic, semantic, morphological and phonological) occurring either within one line (e.g. a), or between two successive (a : b) or alternate lines (a : c and b : d) or between pairs of lines (a-b : c-d) as well as between the four internal lines and the final concluding line of the quintain.

To this parallelistic complex may be added the observation that in this final line of the quintain, which is a rhetorical culmination, the last word, ƙyaure 'door', (a bearer of the running rhyme) itself has phonaesthetic overtones of solidity and firmness (due perhaps to the palatal ejective ƙy, which somewhat alliterates with the k of kafe tamkar which immediately precede it). But besides phonaesthetic effect, this last word is significant in the running segmental rhyme of AURE as a chole. The titleword aure, it is to be recalled, is the predominant running rhyme-word of the poem (occurring in 102 out of the total 110 quintains). The use of ƙyaure as a running rhyme-bearer here obviously foregrounds it, suggesting perhaps a symbolic relationship to the themeword. Moreover ƙyaure is further highlighted by its parallel phonological resemblance to aure in that though both words are disyllabic nouns, both long and HH, and both have an initial glottal consonant

followed by the same sequence -aure, nevertheless the actual consonants at the beginning of the two words are distinct - : ƙyaure : ʔaure.

Finally, in AURE, this highly rhetorical (parallelistic) and foregrounded 13th stanza must be seen as an explication of the last two lines of the preceding 12th stanza especially the word dattawa:

12 (d) Mallam, auri ɗiyar dattawa

(e) San da kake riya neman aure.

'Malam, seek the daughter of upright, honourable people whenever you contemplate marrying;'

a pair of lines which in fact are the amshi of the poem as a whole.

The immense relevance of v. 13 to the overall theme and argument of the poem is also illustrated by the 14th stanza which follows it and expands on the nature of dattawa pl. (sg.m. dattijo) as first described in v. 13. This 14th quintain, which has its own measure of parallelism partially echoing that in v. 13, is:

14 (a) Wanda shike da kula da sharĩ'a,

(b) In ya ce 'I' ba ya 'A'a',

(c) Wanda a zuci shina da ƙanaa,

(d) Ba nauyi ba bisa ga jama'a,

(e) Ba kanari ba kurum 'yar kare.

'Who is mindful of the Law,
When he says 'Yes' he does not do the opposite,
Who has contentment at heart,
Not a burden or imposition on other people
Not a mere show-piece to be competed for?

Structurally and tonally similar to the parallelism in AURE, and to some extent to that in YARO and MAZA above, is v. 90 of the Civil War poem SOJA which describes the characteristic actions of the Federal soldiers thus:

90 (a) Masu kakkausan mari,

(b) Masu nannauyan hauri,

(c) Masu tsattsauran ɗauri,

(d) Masu harbe mutum, ɠuri!

(e) Masu kyau da faɗa, soja.

This quintain syntactically consists of 5 Adjectival complexes each consisting of masu + NP. In a-c, the NP consists of an adjective derived from what Parsons (1953) calls 'Abtract nouns of sensory quality' (ANSQ for short) + n + Strong Verbal noun; while d-e have a different NP. b,c,d have the same final sequence -auri (-ri being the internal rhyme-syllable); all the final words, which are each disyllabic, are quantitatively long (a metrical fact) and are tonally identical (a fact of tonal rhyme), having a HL pattern. Indeed, the whole lines a-C are metrically and tonally identical; and the tonal contours of (d) and (e) are also identical, allowing for the equivalence of a H + L sequence and a H-L fall:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a,b,c : | L | H | L | H | H | H | L |
| d : | L | H | H | L | L | H-L | HL |
| e : | L | H | | H-L | L | H L | HL |

### 5.2.3. Semantic parallelism and linking in KADAURA

So far some seven poems (Hausa I, Saƙo, Yaro, Maza, Aure and Soja) have been briefly cited as illustrative of the general tendency in Aƙilu Aliyu's poetry for a relatively more striking concentration of parallelism in some verses. Another stylistic feature in Aƙilu Aliyu is for a poem to have a much more even spread of parallelism. In KADAURA, for instance, where there is a great abundance of parallelism, this is not as conspicuous because it is present in virtu$_a$lly each of its 87 couplets. This relatively even spread, incidentally, is very likely one of the chief factors which makes the poem such a success that it won the first place in the poetic competition (Kano State Festival 1970) for which it was composed.

Because of the two-faceted feature of parallelism in this lengthy poem - abundance and spread - it is not possible to illustrate in detail; and, furthermore, as some of the types of parallelism present in it have been illustrated in other poems above, it is considered more appropriate here to illustrate and discuss two other related kinds of parallelism and verbal repetition which also characterize the poem. These two kinds which have not hitherto been adequately illustrated, are semantic parallelism in the sense of variations of expression on the same immediate theme; and 'linking', or the way in which lines, couplets or sections are linked together through the use of foregrounded repetitions of expression (Leech, 1969, p. 74)

#### (i) Semantic Parallelism

The semantic parallelism in KADAURA, which illustrates the noticeable collocational expectancy fulfilment of the poem, may be exemplified first by the six different expressions used within three

consecutive early lines to express the idea 'not big', or 'small' with reference to the gargaɗi 'warning' which the poet intends to give:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a taƙaice | (3b) | - | 'in brief, in short' |
| ɗan (gargaɗi) | (4a) | - | 'small (warning)' |
| ƙwarya-ƙwarya | (4a) | - | 'not big, medium' |
| ba mai yawa ba | (4b) | - | 'not much' |
| kaɗan | (4b) | - | 'tiny, small, little' |
| gutsurawa | (4b) | - | 'a pinch, a bit of' |

The idea 'small' is echoed later in the poem in two successive stanzas, clearly demonstrating the poet's feeling for words:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'yar (tambaya) | (9b) | - | 'a small (question' |
| (zance) taƙaitacce | (10a) | - | 'a brief statement, word'; |

and even in the same line (10b)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| ɓuntuna | - | 'break off a tiny piece' |
| ƙyas | - | 'a weeny bit' |

These various expressions which basically mean 'Small' are incidentally indicative of the overall feature of modesty, in the form of underplaying the importance of the theme or the poet's personality which is characteristic of Aƙilu and many other Hausa poets - an attitude of humility that is Islamic.

To suggest that the reader/listener ponder seriously on his message, the poet uses two lengthy expressions in the same couplet, v.5:

Sannan na bar ku da shi ku dinga tunani
Wato a kansa ku kai kuna kawowa

'Then I leave it with you to keep thinking over
That is keep (mentally) going to and fro on it'

For the theme of active determination, stressed throughout the

poem, v. 8 has two different sets of expressions, first positively, then negatively thus:

ja ɗamara; miƙe sosai (8 a) - 'tighten up belt, stand up firm'

ba nuna lalaci da son gajiyawa (8 b) - 'without showing laziness and (without) tiring.

The same idea is expressed later at different points in the poem and with differring expressions:

damƙa hanya (20 b) - 'set out resolutely'

shiryu; kintsu (22 a) - 'be prepared; be ready'

zabura (41 a) - 'rise quickly and purposively'

ƙara shiri; dage (48 b) - 'increase preparation; stand firm'

Related to this, is the theme of resolute striving, also expressed in several semantic parallels and repetitive expressions, e.g. v. 23

(a) Mu yi ƙoƙari, mu yi ƙoƙari, mu yi ƙwazo,

(b) Himma maɗaukakiya marar rushewa.

'Let us strive hard, let us strive, let us strive bravely -

A determination lofty and unflinching'

The close relationship (zumunta) between ignorance and lunacy is also expressed in several kinship terms in three successive couplets thus:

(zumunta); makusaciya; ta ƙuƙut; marar jayawa (31 a-b)

(kinship) close ; contiguous; not distant

wa da ƙane (32 a) - elder and younger brother

saƙo da saƙo (32 b) - one child immediately after the other

tagwaye (33 a) - twins

'ya'yan ciki ɗaya (33 b) - children of the same conception

a daina rabawa (33 b) - indivisible, inseparable, indistinct

Other examples of variations on a theme include:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| innuendo, irony | : 2 expressions | : shagubè | (35a) |
| | | ƙusa | (35a) |
| reminder/reminding | : 2 " | : tunatarwa, faɗakarwa | (36b) |
| valuable, useful | : 2 " | : fa'ida | (38a)- value |
| | | moriya | (39a)- utility, usefulness |
| idiocy | : 3 " | : wawaye | (37b)- idiots, fools |
| | | mai gafala | (38b)- unmindful |
| | | marar ganewa | (38b)- stupid |
| jealousy, covetousness | : 2 " | : mai hasada | (39b)- jealous |
| | | mai kushewa | (39b)- fault-finder |
| going astray | : 2 " | : kwana | (41a)- taking a turn/ corner |
| | | lauje | (41a)- sickle (as a curved impliment) |
| bring light | : 3 " | : kunno (fara) fitila | (49b)- kindle the bright lamp |
| | | kau da duhu | (49b)- remove darkness |
| | | haskawa | (49b)- illuminating |
| dryness, hardness | : 3 " | : kam-ta-kalai | (15a)- hard and dry (like the shin-bone of the crown bird) |
| | | gashe babu mai | (15a)- giving no fat when roasted |
| | | dafe babu romo | (15b)- giving no gravy when boiled |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| darkness, denseness, | | | |
| blackness | : 2 : | kungurmi | (17a)- dense, dark |
| | | baki | ($17_a$)- black, dark |
| worthless, useless, | | | |
| rubbish | : 7 : | abin kwasa | (19b)- to becollected like rubbish |
| | | abin tonawa | (19b)- to be dugout and exposed |
| | | marar daraja | (44b)- without worth |
| | | abin rainawa | (44b,45b)- to be slighted and despised |
| | | hoto | (51a)- mere picture,ineffectual |
| | | baka ba tsarkiya | (51b)- unstrung bow |
| | | tukunya...ba toyawa | (52b)- unfired pot |
| IGNORAMUS, | | | |
| SIMPLETON | : 4 : | jahili (passim) | - ignoramus |
| | | marar ilmi (several times) | - uneducated |
| | | kasgi | (65b)- illiterate person |
| | | kumusgi | (65b)- illiterate,unenlightened person |
| Western-educated | | | |
| person | : 5 : | dan takarda | (8a)"paper man",i.e. educated in Western-type school |
| | | Musta | (8a) - 'Mister' |
| | | dokta | (81a)- Doctor |
| | | babban mutum | (81b)- V.I.P. |
| | | bigiman | (81b)- big man |
| Cheat, deceiver | : 2 : | wayau | (83a)- being clever |
| | | dabarbarun Dabaruna | (83b)- Mr. Clever's tricks |

Apart from the foregrounding effect of the synonymy in individual or adjacent lines/couplets, the cumulative effect is most striking, and these examples demonstrate Ákilu's versatility as well as the resources of vocabulary and imagery which he has at his command.

Similar to the above, is the listing in contrasting pairs of the various constituents of a whole, which is a not uncommon feature of Hausa poetry in general. This is exemplified in KADAURA v. 6, where the specific contrasting terms in 6a (mazanmu har matanmu : yara da manya) are picked up and concluded by the general collective term jama'a at the beginning of 66:

6 (a) A mazanmu har matanmu, yara da manya -

(b) Jama'a, mu san ilmi muna tarawa.

'Among our menfolk, including our womenfolk, children and adults-

O people, let us seek knowledge and keep amassing it.'

This serialisation technique is employed to good effect in a very striking way in HAUSA I, where the specific terms are given in the two lines of the 3rd couplet and the generalizing concluding collective term begins the next (4th) couplet, resulting in a kind of enjambment:

3 (a) Ni nan, da kai, shi, ke, da su, baki ɗai,

(b) Ku, nan na kurkursa, har na cana da nisa -

4 (a) Jama'a, mu karkaɗe kunnuwanmu na ƶuci,

(b) Zancen da zan mana shi mu ji shi mu amsa.

'I here, and you (masc.,sing.), he, you (fem.,sing.), and they, all

You (plural) there and nigh, including (you) afar -

O people, let us keep our mind's ears open

To hear what I will say to us and respond to it.'

(ii) Linking parallelism

Of the various methods used for linking in KADAURA, the most obvious is that which involves free repetition of the same expression, especially, but not necessarily always in the initial position of the parallel lines and/or couplets.

Verses 26-28 of the poem, for instance, which describe ignorance as a deadly disease, have the word cuta 'disease, together with its causative verbal noun cutarwa, repeated in several positions:

(26) Ba inda jahilci shike amfani, In ban da ma cuta a kan cutarwa.
(27) Cutar rashin ilmi tana yin take, Zafinta na da yawa cikin halakarwa.
(28) Cutar rashin ilmi tana cutarwa, Mawuyaciyar cuta marar warkewa.

'Nowhere does ignorance serve any function, except as a disease to cause sickness.
The disease of lack-of-knowledge has a sudden seizure, its pain is great even as it kills.
The disease of lack-of-knowledge is sickening, a disease without cure.'

27 and 28 have the same initial expression, Cutar rashin ilmi tana, the first element of which is picked up from the second line of 26, and also reproduced a little later in 28 b, though in each case the word has a different position in the line. Again 28a, with its cuta ... cutarwa repeats the cuta ... cutarwa of 26b though they differ syntactically and positionally in the lines.

Regarding 27a and 28a, the parallel itmes are respectively yin take (Vn + n + N) and cutarwa (Vn). Thus though the one is a relatively longer and more complex grammatical unit, it has a far greater suggestion of suddenness and immediacy, some of which it confers on its shorter parallel counterpart.

Other linking features are (a) the occurrence of jahilci or its equivalent rashin ilmi in the same position in all three, followed by a continuous tense from (the parallelism sharpening the semantic contrast between amfani and yin take/cutarwa); and (b) the use in rhyme position of the three semantically related but contrasting verbal nouns cutarwa/halakarwa and warkewa (causing harm/death as against curing.

The three couplets thus are closely linked together as a unity through repetition and parallelism. In this connection, the following couplet, v. 29, with its semantic associations between rai 'life' in the first line, zama 'living' in the second line, and its rhyme-word macewa 'dying', can be regarded as completing this thematic action of 4 couplets which are linked together in several interesting parallel ways.

A similar unifying function is served in verses 35-39:

35 (a) Ba shagube nika yi ba, ba kusa ba,
(b) Taken nasiha ne nake ta kadawa.
36 (a) Ba na darar muku hankali ba, habawa!
(b) Sai dai tunatarwa kurum fadakarwa.
37 (a) Ba wanda bai san martabar ilmi ba,
In ban da wawaye da a ba a kulawa.

38 (a) Ba wanda bai san fa'idar ilmi ba,

(b) In ban da mai gafala marar ganewa.

39 (a) Ba wanda bai san moriyar ilmi ba,

(b) In ban da mai hasada da mai kushewa.

The first line of each of the five couplets begins with the negative particle Ba, denying or negating an idea expressed in that line, followed, in the second line by a contrastive affirmation or exception to balance the argument. The last 3 couplets are even more closely unified through having an identical sequence repeated in the beginning of their second lines as well as at the beginning and the end of their first lines. The first lines of these 3 couplets are further related in having only one word as the variant item, foregrounded by the uniformity of the rest of the lines:

37 (a) Ba wanda bai san martabar ilmi ba

38 (a) " " " " fa'idar " "

39 (a) " " " " moriyar " "

All three of these parallel items are trisyllabic feminine nouns + r, and are quantitatively identical (_v_). The first two are identical tonally, having the pattern HHL, and are Arabic loans, while the third has a reverse tone pattern, LHH, and is a native Hausa word. Semantically, the three are comparable, martaba meaning 'honour, importance', while the other two are virtually synonymous in meaning 'value, use, benefit, advantage, utility'.

The second lines of these 3 couplets contain relatively more parallelism:

37 (b) In ban da wawaye da ba a kulawa.

38 (b) " " " mai gafala marar ganewa.

39 (b) " " " " hasada da mai kushewa.

Here, the variant elements are all NPs, the first two being single extended NPs while the third has two NPs connected by the conjunction da. The NP in the first case, which contains a plural noun, contrasts with the NPs in the other two, which are singular NPs introduced by mai. The first two cases are similar in having NP + a Qualifier with negative connotation, but they differ in that the first qualifier is a relative clause while the second is a phrase. In 38b, incidentally, one notes the juxtaposition of the noun and its qualifier in the use of opposites mai 'one with' and marar 'one without', this pair providing a link with the mai ,.. mai in the otherwise contrasting 39b.

Semantically, the parallel items in 37 b and 38 b form a pair: 'fools who are not to be reckoned with (37) being synonymous with 'an idiot (who) cannot comprehend (38). 39b, which in this respect is mateless, makes up by containing within itself a parallel semantic pair: 'the jealous, envious one' (mai hasada), and 'the fault-finder' (mai kushewa). As the very last line of this closely knit triad of couplets, it seems appropriate that it should conclude the semantic parity in this way.

Verses 42-44 are another triad of parallel couplets which are similarly linked together as a unity:

42 (a) In ba sani a wajenka, wa ka kula ka -

(b) Balle ka dinga cika kana batsewa?

43 (a) In ba sani a wajenka, kai ne Mantau -

(b) Wa zai tuna ka shi kai shina kawowa?

44 (a) In ba sani a wajenka, kai ne wofi,

(b) Har yau marar daraja abin rainawa.

The linking features are:

(a) the initial negative conditional clause in ba sani a wajenka;

(b) the final continuous phrase at the end of 42b and 43b;

(c) the parallel copular sentences kai ne ... at the end of 43a and 44a (emphasizing the semantic relationship between Mantau "Forgotten One" and wofi "Empty-head";

(d) (less prominent) the rhetorical questions in 42a and 43b wa ka kula ka? and wa zai tuna ka? (though even here there is a contrast - (i) Continuous as against Future and (ii) Sokoto forms wà (with low tone) + zai.

In addition, the initial negative conditional clause, echoing the somewhat similar clauses in 37b and 38b, form a link with those verses (as well as with the later verses ...). And in more general terms, the positive/negative opposition, with a concurrent opposition in the syntactic status of the second line (dependent in 42 and 44 as in 36-8, independent in 43 as in 35) give them some unity as thematic sections, as well as forming part of a larger rhetorical and clausal parallelism which characterizes the thematic and stylistic development of KADAURA in general. (For further examples see vv. 52-60 and 62-76.)

Two other less pervading, though equally noteworthy methods of linking by parallelism occur in KADAURA. One is the notable frequency of a direct address and command, expressed by the Hausa Subjunctive, which occurs as a kind of rhetorical refrain at various points in the poem:

(66) Jama'a, mu san ilmi muna tarawa.

'O, people, let us acquire knowledge and keep amassing it.'

(13a) Jama'a, mu sa natsuwa a zuci da kunne.

'O people, let us be attentive and lend ears.'

(14a) Taro, ka cinci ka cinci, ko a cinta

'O you members of the Congregation, hazard a guess, perchance rightly.'

(23a) Mu yi ƙoƙari, mu yi ƙoƙari, mu yi ƙwazo

'Let us make an effort, let us make an effort, let us work hard.'

(25a) Ka yi ƙoƙarin neman sani don kanka

'(You) make an effort at seeking knowledge for your own sake.'

(41a) Jama'a, mu zabura ba kwana ba lauje

'O people, let us strive resolutely without turning back.'

(45a) Ku mu nem sani don kanmu don jama'ar mu

'Let us (all) seek knowledge for our sake and our community.'

(49a) Mu yi ƙoƙarin kurno farar fitilar can

'Let us make an effort at kindling you bright lamp.'

The series concludes with a similarly expressed wish and farewell occurring at the end of the poem before the final, signature line:

(86a) Jama'a, a huta lafiya, Ala kyauta

'O people, may you relax in pieace, may Allah bring good.'

It is noticeable that this last line rounds off the series with the same invocatory Jama'a with which it began (in 66) and was repeated twice (in

13a and 41a).

One final example of rhetorical foregrounding can be illustrated by the linking parallelism in verses 9 and 10, and the immediately following verses, 11 and 12:

9 (a) Da za a yarda a ba ni fili in yi,
'Would that I were given a forum to make.'

(b) 'Yar tambaya, sannan a ban amsawa.
'a tiny question, then be given an answer.'

10 (a) Ko ko a ban dama na samu in yi.
'Or that I were given a chance to make.'

(b) Zance taƙaitacce marar wahalarwa.
'a brief speech, a painless one.'

11 (a) Shin ko akwai wani namu ba ilmi ba,
'Pray, is there any(thing) we have, apart from Knowledge.'

(b) Mai kai mutum ƙolƙoliyar ɗorawa?
'Which can take a man to the highest attainable peak?'

12 (a) Watakila dai amsarku 'Ai kuwa ba shi':
'Perch$_a$nce your answer (would be) 'Certainly, there is not':'

(b) Ilmi yake hana duk shiri karyewa.
'Knowledge (is what) prevents any system from breaking down.'

The comparable formal features are:

In 9-10:

(a) the run-on between the first and second lines of the two couplets, whereby there is a line-break between the verbal complex (in yi in both cases) and its object NP;

(b) the morphological and phonological parallelism between the near-synonymous and tonally identical disyllabic noun objects fīlī and dāmā.

In 11-12:

(a) the semantic parallelism between the initial phrases shin ko in 11a and watakila dai in 12a, both expressing some doubt;

(b) shin ko akwai (11a) is balanced by ai kuwa ba shi (12a) both thematically and in the fact that ko is a contracted variant of kuwa - this ko itself being an echo of the second ko in 10a.

Furthermore, thematically, both 9 and 10 express the poet's craving to be given leave to say something short - a short question in the first case, and a brief statement in the second; and 11 and 12 take up these two points, - 11 asking the question referred to in 9, while 12 mąkes the statement referred to in 10. Finally, the last three verses of this group are linked by the alliterative repetion of k and ƙ; ko ko... taƙaitacce...ko akwai...kai ƙolƙoliyar...watakila...amsarku...kuwa... yake...duk...karyewa.

All the above examples show how Ákilu makes use of a whole range of parallelistic linguistic devices to establish links between various sections of the poem and to give cohesion to the poem as a whole.

## 5.3. Figurative Language

In the section on linguistic deviation above (5.1.3), it was observed in passing that semantic deviation, which in the main involves collocational violation, belongs more to the realm of metaphor. Metaphor is of course considered the most important of the 'figures of speech', the nerve-centre of all great poetry, whose complexity and importance is reflected by the various critical approaches used to analyze and interpret it, approaches, for instance, which classify it according to genus-species (eg. Aristotle), animate-inanimate (e.g. Quintilian), tenor-vehicle-ground (eg. Richards and Leech), or according to syntax and grammar (e.g. Brooke-Rose); and across or behind all such approaches there always runs the criterion of the degree of freshness, vividness, or originality. In this section on the use of figurative language in Ákilu Aliyu, all these and other problems arise, but the aim here is simply to attempt a brief, general but illustrated account of the use of such figures of speech as the simile, the symbol and allegory and, finally, the metaphor. Metaphor is here given more attention, partly because it is the most abundant, and partly because it is in the effective, creative use of the metaphor that Ákilu seems to distinguish himself from many other Hausa poets.

In so far as our corpus permits generalizations of this nature, it appears that the religious poems generally have the least use of figurative language in terms both of frequency and of appeal. The political poems, again in general, have slightly more use of it, though often in this class there is a concurrent use of proverbial sayings - which as so often in Hausa are themselves figurative - and in some cases these are used as the basis for developed images or figures. It is in the case of the other classes of poems that figurative language is used both more often and more strikingly; though again here there is considerable

variation between certain poems and others.

1. Simile

The use of simile, where transferance of meaning and association is conveyed by the use of an explicit comparative term - eg. kamar, tamkar; ya, i, awa; irin, sai ka ce, ka ce; fi, wuce, zarce; kasa; daidai (da); gara, wane, etc. - ranges, like most other figures, from the simple, straightforward simile, to a more developed and more complex one. Some of the simpler ones include the following (where the explicit comparative term is underlined): zuciyarka kamar dutse (AL'ADU v. 20d) (lit. 'your heart like stone'), where an abstract noun "the tenor", is compared to a concrete one, "the vehicle", without mention of "the ground" of the comparison, though it can easily be inferred, viz. hardness. The reference to the hard-hearted nature of the man described contrasts with that in the case of the woman who is caricatured as trampling traditional values underfoot:

Mai kama da bika ke ce (42b)
One who is like a baboon, you are;

but though here the ground - which is probably ugliness, beastliness, etc - is also not stated, the tenor is the pronoun ke, human, while the vehicle (bika) is animal, hence resulting in a dehumanizing simile of the kind so characteristic of personal satire. Varying slightly further from these is v. 58a of 'YAR GAGARA I:

Dubi idouta kamar 'yar caca (literally 'Look at her eye like a gambler') where the ground is also not mentioned, but where the tenor, idonta 'her eye' is concrete and specific though strictly speaking, inanimate, but the vehicle, 'yar caca, involves metonymy (more specifically a synecdoche) since it is not the gambler himself to whom

the prostitute's eye is compared but his eye, with all its characteristic shiftiness, slyness, and greed, etc.

With regard to the omission of the ground, it appears that sometimes this has the advantage of wider interpretation and association but in other cases the result is less effective for being less specific. In general in Akilu Aliyu, the ground of comparison of a simile is not given. Among the few exceptions are 'YAR GAGARA I (vv. 39-40), where the grounds are more apparent.

(39) Shewar karuwa tare da murna,
Gara maja-ciki in yai sara.

'The prostitute's ululations and excited mood -
Far better the snake when it bites';

and

(40) Ta fi kare a ƙazamin wargi,
Ta fi kado lahani, ganga ma.

'She surpasses the dog at filthy games,
She surpasses the crocodile at causing harm, even ashore'.

In the first case, with the addition of 'when it bites', the ground is nearer to being stated than in the previous examples; the comparison being now more clearly seen between the prostitute, superficially happy and companionable but in fact deadly to associate with, and the snake, withits smooth almost beautiful body but,being poisonous, has a deadly bite. In the second couplet, 40a is self-explanatory; and 40b refers to the popular Hausa belief that a crocodile's bite under water is far less harmful than on dry land, and the prostitute is described as inflicting more harm and pain than even a crocodile's bite on land.

Other examples of a striking use of simile occur in DAMINA, in v. 22a-c, where the rainy season is described as more useful and serviceable than a towel (a), more durable than value-rubber (b), and more fragrant than the perfume called jawul (c):

Taimako wane tawul

Dauriya ya ta ki-bawul

Kamsasa wane jawul.

And in BAKI 3 (v. 13 a-b), the N.P.C. are said to be as bare-faced and shameless as goats in the street (the goat being unique among domestic animals for its upturned tail, revealing its private parts) thus:

Rashin sutura da rashin kunya

Irin ta awakai kan hanya.

V. 2 (a-b) of SOJA contains an arresting use of a standard simile - truth in speech being as sweet as sugar -, a simile that is enhanced by the effective use of extraordinarily vivid ideophones, coi and kwandi, which add to the idea of sweetness and the suggestion of the salty tastiness of good gravy:

Gaskiya a cikin tadi

Coi, kamar sukari, kwandi!

By way of comparison, HAUSA I, which opens with the injunction to seek and find truth wherever it is, refers to 'the bitter truth', gaskiya daddata (v. 9a), which is a standard metaphor; but this is expressed in a more vivid and developed compound metaphor in v. 10:

(a) Na gatsa hancin gaskiya mai ganci,

(b) Gafinsa na da yawa, ina mai lasa?

(a) I have bitten deep into the 'nose' of Truth, bitter though it is,

(b) Its raw-bean tang is very strong, who can bear to taste it?

The first line here compares truth, an abstract tenor, to a raw fruit, a concrete vehicle, whose 'nose' is particularly bitter in taste; and in the second line it is compared to a raw bean, another concrete vehicle which in addition is metonynymic. Though a well developed compound metaphor, this couplet would appear to have a comparably striking effect as the simile in SOJA above; and the point being illustrated here is that a metaphor need have no more appeal for just being metaphor than a simile.

But to continue with the simile, 'YAR GAGARA II may be cited for its good use of an extended simile. In v. 7 (a-c) there occurs a fruity image in the comparison of the prostitute, with her superficial beauties, to the attractive-looking, luscious wild fig whose hairy inside contains insects that put one off:

Mai kyawo ya na 'ya'yan ɓaure
Wanda cikinsa kadan an ɓare
Duk sha'awarku da shi ta ƙare

(One with a beauty like that of wild figs,
whose inside, when opened,
All your liking for it is ended.'

In KADAURA, where similes are few but striking, v. 40 (a-b) is a concretistic extended simile which contrasts the inexhaustible nature of knowledge with the content of a huge granary which, be it ever so vast, must eventually be exhausted:

Ilmi ga mai shi ya fi babban rumbu
Domin hatsin rumbu yana ƙarewa.

'Knowledge to its possessor exceeds a huge granary,
Because the grain in the granary comes to an end.'

The simple, straightforward farming imagery of such a simile is clearly relatable to the difference between non-materialism and materialism, a recurrent theme emphasized in Hausa Islamic verse in general.

A similar development, this time in a dehumanising simile, is found later in the same poem, where the ignorant illiterate, jahili, is compared to a stringless bow, the uselessness of the latter, and so by implication of the former, being spelt out in the following line:

(51b) Tamkar baka ba tsarkiyar ɗaurawa

(52a) Na tabbata bai fa'ida ga maharbi.

This is immediately followed and amplified by a further dehumanising simile, this time comparing the ineffectualness of the jahili to that of an unbaked pot:

(52b) Tamkar tukunya wacce ba toyawa.

Here the ground of comparison is not stated so explicitly; but the supplementary lines, in which the poet's feeling for words and images is very apparent, fill out the picture in greater detail, giving greater vividness to the comparison and so greater force to the argument:

(53) In ba a gasa ta ba tai rakaukau dia nan,
Kun san ruwa a cikinta bai zaunawa.

(54) Ba za ta jimri zama cikin laima ba,
Tilas ta narke kan a je girkawa.

'If it is not thoroughly baked dry
You know that water cannot stay inside it
It will not bear standing in dampness
It is bound to melt away before it can be set on the fire'.

Rhetorical effects also play their part, such as the forceful effect of the ideophone rakaukau, the subtle alliteration in many of the lines,

and the parallelism between 51b and 52b, linking the two similes themselves. In a sense, the whole of the section beginning with the metaphor in 51a (Shi jahili kun gan shi shi ne hoto) to 54b is figuratively foregrounded and may be summed up as a most effective combination of a metaphor and two similes.

This stylistic feature, of a metaphor-cum-simile is perhaps better, certainly more neatly, illustrated by the final line of the 13th quintain of AURE (referred to under parallelism above):

Mai magana kafe tamkar ƙyaure; where kafe 'firmly fixed' in reference to the abstract magana 'word, utterance' is metaphorical, but the metaphor is reinforced by the more explicit simile tamkar ƙyaure like a door-frame, where the concrete vehicle is startling and has the stamp of originality.

Finally, in HAJI (v. 54), in the description of one of the toughest exercises during the Hajj pilgrimage - the scene at Muna of the first stoning of the Devil, in which everyone takes part virtually at the same time - the crush is vividly captured by the use of a metaphor-cum-simile, the simile being briefly but spicily developed:

Wannan bigire da an dosai,
Duk wanda ya faɗi har ƙassai,
In ba an wuf ba an tasai,
A markaɗa shi ya tattasai,
Ba don a ɓuba a girki ba.

'This place, as it is approached,
Whoever falls right down to the ground,
If he is not immediately picked up,
He will be emulsified like the large chillies,
(Though) not to be used for cooking'.

(2) Symbolism and Allegory

As allegory is usually a sustained series of symbols, or "a multiple symbol" (Leech 1969, p. 163), it is appropriate to consider them under the same subheading, beginning with the symbol, which is an expression that involves ambiguity in that by itself it is literally true but when considered in context it has to be interpreted figuratively to make sense.

Some of the symbls used in Akilu Aliyu are universal poetic symbols; some are Hausa traditional symbols, while some others have the mark of originality. The reference to light for knowledge and darkness for ignorance in KADAURA (v. 49) for instance, is basically a universal poetic symbol, certainly an important element in Islamic symbolism, though in the filling in of the details, its use here approaches extended symbolism:

Mu yi kokarin kunno farar filitar can
Domin mu kau da duhu mu zan haskawa.

'Let us attempt to kindle yon bright lamp
In order to remove darkness and bring illumination.'

The reference to the homosexual in 'YAR GAGARA I (v. 82b) as jemage 'bat' as neither bird nor beast is perhaps more traditional than universal, though the basis of the symbol itself seems to be widespread. Even less common, and for this reason perhaps more original, is the use in this same context and with the same reference, of the compound-word jakin-doki 'mule' (v. 84a).

In AL'ADU (v. 8b-c), the reference to God's power to 'bring down summer clouds (girgije) as well as the dry harmattan haze (buda)':

Kai kake iya saukar da
Girgije, haka ma buda,

is a literal truth, and would be an appropriate and typical sentiment in Hausa poetry; but in the context, where it refers to God's power to bring about goodness and prosperity as well as bleak hardship, a symbolic interpretation is called into play, so that girgije, which is associated with rain, coolness and farming, is a symbol for prosperity and well-being, while buda, which comes with the cold, dry, harmattan wind, is a symbol for suffering and want.

Similarly, taken by itself, v. 61 b of KADAURA:

Mai hattara shi ne da ƙulla abawa

'It takes a dexterous person to join up a cotton-thread (that has snapped),

is literally true, but applied to its context, and especially in its balanced parallelistic relationship to the preceding line

Aikin tiyata masu ilmu suke yi

'Surgical operation is carried out (only) by the knowledgeable',

it becomes a symbol.

In the fragment KAIKAI (v. 4), where the language is very allusive and the tone angry and sarcastic, reference is made to the poet's enemies, real or imagined, who try to destroy or harm him but who instead end up harming themselves:

Mikinsu bai warke ba ya ma rure,
Ga ko fulasta ƙarƙashi an liƙa.

'Their ulcer has not healed; it has in fact gotten worse,
Even though there is a plaster stuck on it'.

Again here this could be literally true but in context it is clearly symbolic.

As regards allegory, which in the main is separated from the extended symbol by a thin thread, there are no poems which are wholly allegorical such as is the case, for instance, with Aliyu ɗan Sidi's 'Ajuza Sa-Sake' where the only real 'peep' into the allegory comes at the very end of the poem (see Hiskett 1975 ). What is more often encountered in Akilu Aliyu is rather allegory in certain stanzas or groups of stanzas of some poems (such as is found in Bagauda or Gangar Wa'azu). The nearest example to the fully allegorical poem is DUNIYA (136/5) which like Aliyu ɗan Sidi's 'Ajuza Sa-Sake' and a number of other Zuhudu (ascetic) poems, describes the world as a wicked flirt, an old hag that is fickle and a tough temptress. In this poem the first 22 verses are, as it were, preparatory to the more fully allegorical characterization of the temptress, World, who is named Hindu (a common name for women in Arabic). Later, towards the end, the allegorical level and tone is punctuated by admonitory remarks which bring us occasionally to the real as opposed to the figurative world. The following pair of verses (30, 130) illustrate some of these personifications of Duniya:

30 Aure-auren 'yan maza
Ba daɗewa marmaza
Sai ta ce musu sun gaza
Mai jiki ya kamar guza
Tai kama da hawainiya.

'Marrying now one man, now another,
Without delay, very soon
She tells them they are inadequate,
(She is) one with a body like a monitor,
She is like the chameleon'.

130 Hindu ba ta halin gari,
Ba ta yin aikin gari,
In ta ɗauka tai ɓari,
Ga ta ba ta jin 'Bari.',
Kan ta ta da ƙiriniya.

'Hindu does not have a good character.
She does not do good,
If she lifts up she lets fall/drops,
Nor does she listen to 'Don't!'
When she begins her excited affectations & ruses.

As an example of the use of allegory in a few lines, AURE (v. 100) may be cited:

Dubi zaman halshe da haƙori,
Sabo ne madaɗi mai kauri,
Har haka nan wata ran, tun ɗari,
Sai ka ji ya durtse shi da sauri,
To, fa, bale ma'abuta aure.

'Observe the cohabitation of Tongue and Tooth
An intimacy that is age-old and strong,
Even so one day, especially during cold weather,
You find that he suddenly bites him -
Well, now, much more so with marriage partners;

where it is the last line that gives the clue to the real world.

(3) Metaphor

As we now turn to metaphor - the most important characteristic of Ƙilu Aliyu's figurative language - various types at various levels

could be recognized, but in general these can be summarized as consisting of (a) standard metaphor, i.e. that which is a living stock metaphor, (b) developed, i.e. including both a standard metaphor used in a fresh, envigorating way, and the extended metaphor and (c) original or creative, i.e. one which appears to be of the poet's own making. This classification goes hand in hand with one at another level, which considers metaphor according to its simplicity, vividness, or pregnancy in its particular context.

Among the religious poems, which have few metaphors, one may note the use of the standard metaphor in MAULIDI II (v. 2d)

Shi karansa ya kai tsaiko

literally 'His corn-stalk has reached the roof-frame', which is here used to refer to the peerless position to which the Prophet Muhammad has attained. And in MAULIDI I (v. 2d) where the month of Muhammad's birth is personified in an apostrophe, there occurs a standard Sufi metaphor:

Ka lulluɓe duniya duk da haskenka

You have covered the whole world with your brightness.

Among the political poems, which have slightly more metaphors, standard ones occur such as in 'YAR FILANI (v. 5d)

'Yanpisi birgimar hankaka

where the standard metaphor (underlined), literally 'the continual turning over of the crow', showing now black now, now white, refers metaphorically to the unreliable character of the N.P.C. But more interesting is the piling up of a series of separate standard metaphors in the four lines of v. 7 in the same poem, all these essentially explained in the literal first line of the verse:

Zambar su Wane mun riga mun gane
Bisonsu duk a yau mun tone
Daurinsu ma jikon ya sane
Idonsu mai ganin mun tsone
Dole su sunkuya.

'The deceptive trick of So-and-So we have already realised;
All their burials we have today exhumed,
Their medicinal potion too has lost its strength,
Their seeing eye we have poked,
They must needs stoop.

And in JIYA, another NEPU poem, v. 38 a-d, there occurs another series of standard but living metaphors, bordering on symbols, the second pair of lines being an extended metaphor:

Yaƴa ka haɗa kwai da dutse
Mu mu san lemo su tsotse
Mu mu danke kaho su tatse
Babu nono babu kwarya.

'How combine an egg and a stone
Ours to find an orange for them to suck
Ours to hold the horn, theirs to milk
Without milk and without calabash.'

This metaphor - holding the cow's horns while others milk it - occurs in the later HAUSA I (v. 25) in a differently extended way:

Mu rike kaho ke nan a more tatsa,
Nonon a sha, mu sai suɗa mu yi lasa

'Ours is thus to hold the horn for others to enjoy the milking,
Others to drink the milk, while we can only wipe up the dregs
with our fingers and lick them clean.'

HAJI (113/5) stands out among the religious poems for its relatively greater use of metaphors, which are mostly developed, or even original. In v. 74, for instance, the living standard metaphor which compares magana 'speech, word, idea' with ƙarfe 'metal' in its firm and solid reliability, is strikingly developed by the simple addition of the final line:

Ya zo a cikin karin zance:
Sabo da maza wadata ce,
Don ba su bari ka lalace.
Wannan maganarsu ƙarfe ce,
Sitilin ba langalanga ba.

'It has become a proverbial fact,
(That) association with real men is ample blessing
Because they do not let you stray or degenerate
This idea (of the wise ) is true metal,
Steel, no mere iron strips.

This verse, incidentally, is given extra 'bite' by the unexpected change from the standard phrase for proverb, karin magana, to the synonymous but unusual karin zance in (a), and the neat pun, in (d), in ƙarfe 'metal' suggesting 'ƙarfi' 'strength' inherent in another standard punning proverb gaskiya ta fi dokin ƙarfe ƙarfi, literally 'truth exceeds a metal horse (in) strength'.

The very next verse (v. 75) of the poem continues with the theme of

the company a man keeps, but does so in another metaphorical cast:

Sabo da waɗansu jari ne;
Ba duk ba maza ake zane:
Girman wasu fankameme ne,
Harsashin tamfarare ne,
Bai sami daɓen siminti ba.

'Association with some (people) is capital,
(But) not all men are (here) portrayed:
The greatness of some is mere bulk,
The foundations are temporary,
It has no cement-beaten floor.

Here, (a) is a standard proverbial metaphor, the metaphor-bearer being the noun jari 'capital', an abstract/concrete noun drawn from economics; (b) has a stock metaphor in the verbal noun zane 'drawing'. But the extended metaphor in c-e, which involves the use of English loans tamfarare (to describe the foundations) and siminti, are drawn from modern building imagery (in which buildings are classified as 'permanent' if cement is largely used in their construction and 'temporary' if it is not), and the metaphor has the mark of originality. Similarly in v. 78, the metaphor in the verb tattauna 'chew and chew' or 'by turns' is followed in (c) by a different but extraordinarily vivid and pregnant metaphor, (which is reinforced by the alliteration in t and k/ƙ):

(b) Ga 'yar magana mu tattauna
(c) Ta ta mini ƙaiƙayin kaina

'Here is a little idea for us to chew over
It has raised/awakened the itch in my head'

An example of the use of a vivid extended metaphor is provided in 'YAR GAGARA I (v. 86), where the imagery drawn from tailoring is applied to the homosexual (ɗan daudu) who has lost grace in two ways:

Da ninki biyu ce daraja tasa:
Ya watsar ya riƙe falle ɗai.

'Formerly his worth was in two folds:
(Now) he has thrown one away and retains one cloth-piece.'

But perhaps more easily captured in English (apart from its effective alliteration) is the parallel pair of extended metaphors in 'YAR GAGARA II (v. 16 a-b), which are highly pregnant and surely original:

Karuwa ƙofa babu maƙulli
Ko kuma wando babu maɓalli

'The prostitute, a door without a lock,
Or a pair of trousers without buttons.

In CUTA (v. 45), the poet apologizes for digressing (waigawa 'turning back, aside'), giving his excuse in a one-word verbal metaphor, fizga 'tug violently away', referring to the fact he has been distracted by the thought of being ignored by some people while he was in hospital needing most sympathy - a disturbing thought because he felt betrayed by people who had hitherto showed him friendship. These people have been in fact referred to earlier, in v. 41, which is an extended metaphor drawn from architecture:

A san da ba a gane ba,
Gininsu bai karye ba,
Rufinsu bai abka ba,
Ake zaton ba zamba -
Abin shike ruɗa ni.

'While the truth was not realized,
(And) their building had not cracked,
(And) their roof had not collapsed,
(And) it was thought there was no deception -
That's what confuses me.

In AL'ADU, where the majority of the metaphors are of a concretizing nature, v. 6 may be cited as an arresting example of an effective combination of metaphors; here he continues to give the date of the poem's composition which was begun in the previous verse:

Shekara ta dubu ɗinta
Sai ɗari tara ta bi ta
Doriyar saba'in kanta
Sai biyar ce zankonta
Na shigar kuma na fid da.

'(It was) the year One Thousand,
Following behind it Nine Hundred,
A topping upon it of Seventy,
Then Five became its crest/tuft -
There, I have entered (the sums) and brought out (the answer).

Here the imagery is of two kinds: in (b) the years are made animate, (d) contains a vivid simultaneous one-word reference to a human tuft of hair, a bird's crest, or a cocks comb; while the last line is a metaphorical reference to arithmentic.

In v. 10 d-e, on the other hand, we have an effective, dehumanizing metaphor in the reference to a loudspeaker, which becomes Hausaised as laspika:

Na zamanto laspika

Mai jiyarwa labudda.

'I have become a loudspeaker,

Broadcasting (sound) for sure.'

And in v. 22 b-c, we have a vivid pair of concretizing images, one drawn perhaps from military parade or ceremony, the other from after-harvest activities:

Gagara jeri-jeri

Kuskure ɗauri-ɗauri

'Rank upon rank of rebelliousness

Bundle upon bundle of error.'

In DAMINA, v. 11 c-e, we have another good example of Aƙilu's combination of a standard metaphor with a new metaphor which is itself then 'expanded', rather than extended, since the details do not necessarily have their counterpart in reality:

Daminarmu ta yo halshe,

Har fari shi mace mushe,

An yi mai mugun duka.

'Let our rainy season have a (long) tongue,

That the drought may die a carcass

(Because) it has been given a thorough beating.'

In Hausa, as in English, halshe 'tongue' is often used in a stock animistic metaphor to refer to flames or 'tongues' of fire; but in 11c (which is basically a prayer for a good long rainy season)the

metaphor is applied at second remove to refer to the desired long reach of the rains - though we are left with the poetic ambiguity of a possible direct animistic metaphor, with the rains treated as an animal with a far-reaching tongue, licking out the furthest corners . The animistic metaphor is continued in 11d, with the drought (fari) clearly being visualised as an animal to be killed carcass-dead, with possible overtones of a dried-up carcass. The final line is a development of this metaphor, though the use of duka 'beating' implies human activity, so that here if the rainy season itself is thought of as the agent, the season has now become humanised.

This expanded metaphor has a more striking and more complex parallel in YARO (v. 7) where the reference is to the elimination of ignorance:

Lallai mu kashe shi mus ƙurmus,
Mu karairaya duk wuyan runƙus,
Mu haƙe saiwarsa can ƙasƙas,
Mu cire shi mu tumɓuke tumɓus,
Har yadda ba za shi tofa ba.

'We must extinguish it to the last ashes
Crush every bone of its neck - crunch!
Dig out its roots from right deep down
Tear it out and shake virogously, roots and all,
So that it can never sprout again.'

Here, the first line, which at first sight refers to ignorance as a burning fire, could also be interpreted differently so that kashe...mus are given greater figurative prominence, in which case ignorance would be a monstrous animal which must be killed and rendered carcass-dead.

This possibility demonstrates the pregnancy of the metaphor as well as its allusiveness. The second line is, by comparison, more specific and vivid, referring unmistakably to an animal; and in its use of the verb karairaya, and wuya, it approaches an expanded metaphor (since wuya could have been omitted and yet the metaphor would remain). The remaining lines, however, are one extended metaphor drawn from plant life; and the whole verse is a good example of the accumulation of different metaphors in which Akilu seems to delight.

The extended metaphor in KADAURA, v.v. 26b-28b, though perhaps not as original as our last example (it refers essentially to ignorance as disease) is still striking because of its deliberate repetition of cuta 'disease' in several modes of parallelism and also because (in the reference to the sudden seizure (v. 27a), and the painful and deadly character of this disease (v.v. 27b, 28)) it has a high degree of collocational expectation that is amply fulfilled - a combination of stylistic features which well illustrates the poet's feeling for language (see section on parallelism above). But more effective as a metaphor, certainly more pregnant is the superficially simple reference (in v. 51a) to the ignorant, illiterate person, jahili, as hoto. This word appeals first as the English loan for 'photo(graph) or picture, in which sense it conveys the idea of a mere lifeless picture or statue, static and unchanging; combined with the idea of emptiness, superficiality and hollowness suggested by the quality of the repeated long vowels in the word itself. In addition, as a native Hausa word, these same phonoesthetic associations fit its usual meaning of uselessness (as used in the normal phrase aikin hoto = aikin banza, 'useless job' or 'much ado about nothing').

vv. 32-34 of KADAURA contain an extended metaphor which is developed to such a degree that it almost resembles a compound metaphor:

Hauka da jahilci suna da zumunta
Makusaciya ta ƙukut marar jayawa.
Har ma kusan in cen su wa da ƙani ne,
Sako da sako ne wajen haifawa.
Kai hasalin magana tagwaye ne su,
'Ya'yan ciki ɗaya ne a daina rabawa.

'Lunacy and ignorance have an intimate relationship,
Close as close, not a single remove.
I would almost call them elder and younger brother,
One following straight after the other in their birth.
In fact, they are twins,
Born of the same conception, not to be distinguished.'

As in the previous example, the way in which three full couplets relate lunacy or stupidity to ignorance at various levels of human kinship, shows the poet's feeling for words quite clearly, in his readiness to delve ever more deeply into the varying strata of imagery. The three couplets are reminiscent of a pair of comparisons by another outstanding Hausa poet, Aliyu Namangi in Imfiraji vol. II, where the vehicle of the comparison is not lunacy or stupidity, but, as would perhaps be expected of such a major religious poem, unbelief. The first comparison is in the form of a simile (v. 26 a-b) thus:

Shi fa jahilci ya sarbu
Ne na kafirci ga aibu...

'Now, ignorance is, as it were, the close associate
Of unbelief in doing harm';

with the ground of the comparison (aibu 'harm') specifically mentioned. The second parallel comparison, v. 27 is much closer to KADAURA's example in that both are metaphors drawn from human kinship imagery:

Shi ya ce mana ai juhala
Shi da kafirci ga illa
Yan'uwa ne, la muhala,
'Yan kwanika ma la'alla
Girman ba zai wata bakwai ba.

'He it was said to us: ignorance
And unbelief, in doing harm
Are blood relations without doubt
One child conceived before the other is weaned, perhaps
With less than seven months between them.'

The images are basically similar, but it is clear that for crispness and vividness as well as in the extent to which the metaphor is explored, KADAURA's lines have an edge over the Imfiraji examples.

In HAJI, v. 5 a-b, there occurs the pregnant, vivid and creative compound metaphor, where the poet expresses delight at the realization of a long life wish - his pilgrimage to Mecca:

Allah ya warke mikina
Tsoho na cikin gudan raina

'Allah has cured my wound,
The old one within the orb of my soul.'

Finally, it is appropriate to conclude this illustrative account of the use of figurative language in Akilu by a brief reference to the 7th couplet of KADAURA which has strong appeal as the nerve-centre of the

poem, related as it is in several ways to the poem's basic symbolism, especially in the title of the poem. This seventh verse

Shi ne Kadaura ilmu babbar gayya,
Inuwa mayalwaciya wajen hutawa;

instantly recalls the (full) title

Kadaura Babbar Inuwa.

As far as the title itself is concerned, it is a symbol in kirari form, with overtones of metonymy. Taken literally, Kadaura is in juxtaposition to babbar inuwa 'plentiful shade' which is a characteristic of Kadaura, which is usually referred to as 'The West African copaiba-balsam tree or wood-oil tree (= māje)' (see Bargery and Dalziel), but which is here a symbol for any vast-shade-giving tree. As the title of the poem, this symbolic tree becomes in turn an arboreal symbol for ilmi 'knowledge', which is the subject of the poem, the ground being its vastness and benefit to mankind.

Reverting to v. 7, its sublety requires it to be analyzed in stages (considering the first line first):

(1) as a metaphor, Shi (sc. ilmi) ne Kadaura, 'it is Kadaura', where the tenor is shi and the vehicle Kadaura, with the same implications as in the title;

(2) ilmu is added in apposition to shi, thus explicitly stating the tenor;

(3) a further Nominal Phrase is added, again in apposition to shi and ilmu, beginning with babbar, as in the title, so that one is thus led to expect babbar inuwa (as in the title); but the poet jerks us into startled attention, defeating this expectancy, by changing the phrase to the parallelistic babbar gayya - a new metaphor referring to a huge communal

gathering for joint work, especially on a neighbour's farm. Here, in this agricultural metaphor, the ground is not only the vastness of the undertaking but the hard work and co-operative effort involved, with overtones of relaxation in its aftermath.

In the second line, he reverts to the original image of the vast restful shade of the spreading tree, the expanded and differently expressed phrase in apposition to the words in the first line now being a metaphor instead of a symbol as it was in the title.

Each of the words used has of course its own layers of association, such as protection from the heat of the day, and the inclusiveness of ilmi suggested by Kadaura's implications of nature's bounties, and gayya implying man's efforts to utilise the bounties, etc.

Thus the double compound metaphor with its overtones of metonymy in this seventh verse of KADAURA is given further depth by its linguistic, figurative and rhetorical echoes of the subtly, doubly symbolic title of the poem as a whole.

## 5.4. Convergence: KALUBALE

This last chapter has given a general account of the features of language in Ákilu Aliyu's poetry. The remarkable variety of style has been illustrated by reference to such features as the use of dialectalisms (Sakkwatanci), register (archaisms and malamanci), and loans (from Arabic, English, Fula, Kanuri, and Yoruba); types of linguistic deviation (lexical, morphological, syntactic); parallelism (phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic and thematic), and the patterns of imagery (in simile, symbol, allegory, and metaphor).

It is appropriate to close this account with a brief concluding note on the convergence of linguistic as well as other stylistic features in one poem as an artistic unity.

The educational couplet poem KALUBALE (48/2), (pp. 4–7 of Fasaha Ákiliya) has a couplet as its title:

A yɗu ne garnannen buki  Na waƙoƙin ƙalubale.

This couplet has the same segmental running rhyme-syllable, le, as the rest of the poem, the same tonal running as well as internal rhyme pattern, LH, and the same prosodic pattern v _ vv _ vv _ v _ x 2, which does not conform closely to Arabic-type metre and which in Hausa rhythmical terms could be described as either iyē nānayē yārayē or iyā ra'iyē aya yārayē. This title-couplet recurs, in a slightly modified form, in the poem's penultimate couplet, i.e. v. 47:

A wannan garnannen buki  Na waƙoƙin ƙalubale,

with the same rhyme-bearing word ƙalubale 'a daring challenge' – a word which reflects the circumstances of the poem's composition (the poetry competition in the Kano State Festival of the Arts, 1970).

This key theme-word occurs once more as the rhyme-word in the fourth couplet which contains perhaps the most important sub-theme of

the whole poem:

Kadan ka ture zuciya Da ilmu ake ƙalubale;

which may be paraphrased in English as:

Apart from the Heart (or Mind), knowledge is the best weapon for taking up a challenge.

This philosophically central idea is preceded, in the first three couplets, by the description of the wide-ranging multivalent and multidimensional character of knowledge as against its unity and solidity, or its universality balanced against its specificity. Apart from these two concepts, the themes and arguments of KALUBALE are conventional in that they are essentially similar to those expressed in other poems on education, by Ƙakilu or indeed by other Hausa poets. The poem has no obvious straightforward logical development of thought but moves back and forth like a weaver of fencing-mats, as the Hausas would say. This unpredictable movement of thought is to some extent reflected in the two main sections into which the thematic structure of the poem may be divided:

(a) Knowledge is multivalent and multidimensional;
therefore seek as much of it as possible (vv. 1-11),
for without it disadvantages result (vv. 12-17)

(b) Knowledge and its possessor achieve success (vv. 23-32)
while ignorance and the ignoramus fail (vv. 33-45).

From such a simplified division, we are left with vv. 18-22, which urge people to be conscious of fleeting Time in the search for knowledge, and vv. 46-48, which conclude the poem by echoing the challenging note (sounded first in the title and opening couplets of the poem) and by containing the conventional closing markers (the poet's signature and closing doxology). In this connection it is worth remarking that the

conventional opening markers - the opening doxology and the invocation - are absent in this poem, as if to highlight the compelling force of the opening idea that takes their place (cf. SOJA and HAUSA I, which also have no opening doxology, and contrast KADAURA which has); and the closing doxology is notable for its extreme brevity in one word, hamdale, which, however, is enhanced by the fact that it is not only the very last word of the poem but also the very last running rhyme-word (cf. HAUSA I where such compensation is provided by a very lengthy closing doxology).

But if the thematic structure is typical and the ideas conventional, the manner of expression is certainly not. The typically Ákilu Aliyu style of expressing the same essential idea in a variety of interesting ways (as seen in KADAURA in 5.2.3 above) obtains here as well and may be illustrated by the fact that seven main ideas in the poem are expressed by a total of 67 different expressions as indicated in summary form thus:

(1) Concentrate on the search for ilmi (knowledge): 8 expressions, in vv. 5-6 and 10-14;

(2) Search it out: 8 expressions in vv. 7-8 and 29;

(3) Failure to acquire ilmi results in great disadvantages: 8 expressions for the former and 5 for the latter, in vv. 12-17;

(4) Time is short, and we must hurry: 4 expressions for the former and 5 for the latter, in vv. 18-22;

(5) Importance and success of the educated person: 8 expressions, in vv. 24-27;

(6) When things go wrong, ilmi sets them right: 4 expressions for the former and 3 for the latter, in vv. 30-32;

(7) The ignorant man is a dead loss: 19 expressions in vv. 35-45.

An even more unconventional feature of the poem is the frequent

allusion to Hausa oral literature, in the form of the stark opening riddle of vv. 1-3, the use of proverbial expressions, e.g. noman Barka in v. 36, tongue-twisters in the phonological play in the opening verse (with its consonance, ƙ...l, and assonance in the vowel -u), and allusion to Hausa folklore in the reference to the comical wrestling match between the equally hopeless and helpless Flâbby and Floppy (Shakwab da Lakwab, v. 46).

The Question-Answer style (in the opening gambit, in vv. 23-26, and in vv. 30-32) is also noteworthy. Related to the feature of address and reference patterns, this has the combined effect of intimacy and immediacy, which in other poems is further developed into dramatic dialogue (e.g. KADAURA, v. 19, 'YAR GAGARA I, vv. 12-28, 43-47, 65-76, and DANGATA and AURE) where dialogue enhances characterization and produces (satirical) humour. In KALUBALE, the satirical reference to the ignorant man in v. 37, as the adult monkey with the tiny face-mark (ɗan kwale) typical of women, is vivid and humorous.

Notable also is the segmental rhyme, which is carried by the rare rhyme-syllable -le. There are 23 distinct rhyme-words in the 48 couplets of the poem, and of these only 8 are repeated. The most frequently recurrent, walwale, occurs only four times, followed by ƙalubale, with three recurrences, and the remaining 6 are repeated only once each. The great majority of the rhyme-words are verbs or verbal derivatives and many of them are reduplicated or of reduplicative form, including quite a number of neologistic inventions of Aƙilu's own. There is the basic form of Qasida-opening rhyme, combined with the repetition in the second hemistich of the opening ƙ of the first: ƙ-le/ƙ-le. Despite the remarkable variety in the running rhyme-word, the poem has a regular LH tonal running rhyme pattern, a predominant HLH TPR and, though it is not

in rhyming couplets, it has a LH tonal internal rhyme pattern in all but three of its first hemistichs, the exceptions (each LF) being essentially the same, contour-wise, as the usual LH (cf. Muhammad D, 1968). Thus, the poem combines great segmental rhyme-word variety with great tonal (or surprasegmental) rhyme regularity.

Besides the parallelism provided by the noteworthy variety of the segmental rhyme, where most of the rhyme-words are trisyllabic or quadrisyllabic and verbal; by the tonal rhyme, where the Syll-y and Syll-z and sometimes also the Syll-x are significantly regular, and by the metre with the regular pattern v_ vv _ vv _ v _, there are other less ubiquitous kinds of parallelism, such as phonological as in the opening verses, and syntactic as in the conspicuously chiastic parallel verses 33 and 34, where in 33 a positive main clause is followed by a negational conditional clause, while in 34 the positions are reversed.

The poem has a compressed style typical of Akilu Aliyu (cf. the equally conspicuous case of SOJA) and this is clearly partly associated with the shortness of the lines, which have a maximum of 10 syllables. Most of the couplets are self-contained syntactically, though one notices the strong enjambment in vv. 30-32 and the two prominent cases of run-on lines in v. 2 and v. 11.

There is, finally, the even more outstanding use of figurative language in the poem. One notices, first, the absence of similes and the debatable presence of symbolism, both of which are characteristic of the poet elsewhere (e.g. KADAURA). The allusion in v. 46 is more allegorical than symbolic. Metaphor is in fact the dominant figure of speech in KALUBALE and of this there is a large number in the poem, many of the metaphors noticeably being contained in verbs. No less important is the variety of the spheres of the imagery, covering

building (e.g. v. 12b, 13b) weaving (e.g. 23b, 32b) farming (e.g. v. 36a) food (e.g. v. 12b, 24) pastimes (e.g. 17, 4) to mention a few. The most important example is perhaps the startling opening trio of couplets which describe ilmi in an extended arboreal metaphor, recalling in this respect the pregnant multi-imaged Kadaura tree in the seventh verse of KADAURA. In KALUBALE, in addition to the universal and yet specific nature of knowledge, there is the forceful pointer to the essentially Islamic view of ilmi which, in direct contrast to material possessions, rather than diminishing when given to someone else, grows and becomes richer in the mind of the possessor:

1. Kulun ƙulufit: abu dunƙule, Kalau na ƙale, ƙalubale!
2. Ka cinci ka-ci: miye abin Da ke yaɗo kuma dunƙule?
3. Ya watsu, ya barbazu, tattare, Da rassa, ga shi a mulmule?

1. Riddle-me-ree! Something compressed solid. I've properly stumped you; come on, I dare you!
2. Guess and guess again: what is the thing that creeps, yet is fixed
3. (That) spreads and scatters, yet is gathered together, has branches (but) is yet compacted together?

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

As we have seen in the introduction to the thesis, Akilu Aliyu composed his verse in the context of two distinct traditions - the oral here called Waka I and the 'literate' here called Waka II - although over the years some interaction between the two must surely have occurred. Akilu himself started composing at an early age, first in the oral mode and in Arabic, but soon in poems which owed as much to the Waka II as to the Waka I tradition. His development as poet coincided with and was certainly influenced by his moves from Sokoto to Kano and thence to Borno and back to Kano, and his deep involvement in the political activity which provided inspiration for much of his secular verse. The last section of the Introduction reveals the wide variety of themes to which he devoted his poetic energy and skill over the years, themes which are so often closely reflected in various ingenious ways in the actual language of the poems.

The subsequent chapters have dealt in depth with critical aspects of the poetic corpus, sometimes en bloc at other times individually, but in both cases with frequent reference to the situation in Hausa poetry other than Akilu's in order to indicate the extent to which his poetry conforms to or differs from the general Waka II tradition.

The examination, in Chapter II, of Akilu's handling of segmental rhyme, which is a poetic principle of the literate genre Waka II, has shown that, although in the main conforming to the tradition in this respect, Akilu experiments both by deliberately deviating from tradition in occasionally dispensing with segmental rhyme altogether and by modifying and enriching it with noticeable variety. In particular his poems show originality in the wide range of syllables utilised, the use of rhyme-syllable variation within the same rhyme-scheme, and the

extended form of Qasida-opening rhyme. Chapter III called attention to the related feature of tonal rhyme, which does not appear to have been previously observed for Hausa poetry of either genre, although in fact it seems to be a significant feature of both. In Aƙilu's verse at least, tonal rhyme is definitely a significant feature of poetic structure and form; and, in contrast to segmental rhyme which is typically confined to the last syllable of the poetic line, tonal rhyme always involves the penultimate and not infrequently the ante-penultimate syllable as well. Although tonal rhyme is much more evident in Aƙilu than elsewhere, this intriguing and fascinating discovery suggests possible lines of further worthwhile research; such investigation might well show that tonal rhyme is a much more fundamental feature of Hausa Waƙa in general than is segmental rhyme which, being so closely associated with the advent of literacy in Arabic, must be a relatively recent introduction. The study of prosodic rhythm in Chapter IV has shown that Aƙilu, like his predecessors and contemporaries, has certainly drawn some inspiration from classical Arabic prosody, a situation which is possible because variation in syllable length is as basic a feature of Hausa as it is of Arabic. On the other hand, in Aƙilu's case Hausa Waƙa I originals seem to have been the rhythmic models for at least as many and probably more poems than have Arabic metres.

It is in his use of language, perhaps, that Aƙilu shows his real stature, and Chapter V has given an outline of the many ways in which his mastery of language is displayed. While other poets tend to use Sokoto forms due to the exigencies of metre or rhyme, Aƙilu's use of this dialect is primarily for stylistic purposes or for its special associations, and Arabicisms and other loans too seem to be used either for stylistic reasons or for their thematic relevance.

As regards linguistic deviation, his poetry immediately and constantly gives the impression of a many-faceted linguistic audacity combined with felicity of expression far more pronounced than in much other published Waka II. Structurally, Akilu's stanzas are usually self-contained, with a general coincidence of the linguistic phrase and the metrical phrase or unit, and where enjambment or run-on occur they can perhaps be seen as deliberate thematic or linking devices.

Akilu's poetic genius finds expression not only in his rich, varied, and expressive vocabulary but most noticeably in linguistic devices such as parallelism and in his vivid and imaginative use of figurative language. Throughout his poems, but more particularly in certain individual examples, there is an abundance of parallelism of various types, phonological (as in the remarkable alliterative examples of HAUSA I), morphological and syntactic (as in MAZA and YARO), thematic (as in AURE), semantic and linking as in KADAURA. The abundance and variety of figurative language too can readily be illustrated from almost any one of the 79 poems in the corpus, with the preponderance of metaphor over simile, symbol and allegory; and the examples given in Chapter V are merely a representative selection to give an indication of their extraordinary imaginativeness, pregnancy and vividness.

The final, co-ordinating description of KALUBALE shows how the various skills and devices discussed in the preceding chapters combine to make Akilu Aliyu an outstanding poet of his day, who, while following to some extent the traditions which he has inherited from the past, nevertheless has developed and enriched it with his own consummate artistry.

## Appendix A

### Alphabetical list of poems in the corpus and some of their features

| | Reference title | Number of stanzas and stanzaic form | Thematic class | Running rhyme situation | Date of composition | Full/Original Title |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ADO BAYERO | 72/5 | IIIa | -no | K2a | Kokon bara |
| 2 | ADO SANUSI | 167/2 | | -si | K2a | Godiyar Allah Kudusi |
| 3 | AFIRKA | 26/5 | IVb | -ka | | Afirka kasa mai albarka |
| 4 | AMSA | 41/5 | IIIa | -ba | K2b | Amsa ga 'Wasika ta sha'irci' |
| 5 | AL'ADU | 63/5 | IIc | -da | 1975 | Ga batun al'adunmu<br>Wanda munka sani tun da |
| 6 | AURE | 110/5 | IIa | -re | K2b | Aure ya zarci ba'a,<br>Da shi akan tsere sa'a |
| 7 | BAKI 3 | 43/5 | IVa | 'Yanpisi | B | Baki uku sharri 'Yanpisi |
| 8 | BANGO | 72/2 | IIIa | -CVs | | Bangon Gabas |
| 9 | BEGE | 83/2 | Ia | -yi | K1 | Bege ya zuwa gun masoyi |
| 10 | CI GABA | 384/2 | IIc | -ba | K2 | Neman ciyar da kasa gaba/<br>Kishin zuci |
| 11 | CIBIYA I | 50/2 | V | -ni | 1974 | Ba boye cibi lokacin yin<br>wanka |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | CIBIYA II | 121/2 | V | -na | 1974 | Bankwana da Umaru Yola/ Ba ɓoye cibi lokacin yin wanka |
| 13 | CUTA | 67/5 | V | -ni | 1962 | Cuta ba mutuwa ba |
| 14 | DAMINA | 29/5 | IIIc | -ka | 1970 | Damina mai albarka |
| 15 | DUNIYA | 136/5 | Ic | -ya | 1963 | Duniya rawar 'yanmata/ Hindu mata mai zara |
| 16 | DANGATA | 357/2 | IIa | -ta | 1963 | Dangata |
| 17 | FAILA | 80/2 | Id | -ni | K2 | Kamshin bishiyar Faila |
| 18 | FILLORI | 55/2 | IVa | -R+r | B | Fillori 'yar Indiya |
| 19 | GASKIYA | 203/2 | Ib | -ya | K1 | Gaskiya mai ɗaci |
| 20 | GORA | 101/2 | IIa | -ta | K2 | Gorar kanmu nake rabka ta |
| 21 | GUZURI | 47/5 | Id | -re | K2a | Isasshen guzuri |
| 22 | HAJI | 113/5 | Id | -ba | 1972 | Aikin Haji ya wuce wasa |
| 23 | HAKURI | 263/2 | IIc | -re | | Hakuri maganin zaman tare |
| 24 | HASKE | 208/2 | Ib | -ta | | Hasken zukata |
| 25 | HAUSA I | 86/2 | IIc | -sa | 1970 | Hausa mai ban haushi |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 26 | HAUSA II | 37/5 | IIc | -sa | 1975 | Harshen Hausa ya bunkasa |
| 27 | IBRAHIMA | 117/2 | Id | -ma | | Inyasiyya Ibrahimiyya |
| 28 | INKWARIYA | 23/5 | IVa | -ri | | Inkwariya |
| 29 | INUWA | 51/2 | IVa | -ba | B | Inwar Sawaba |
| 30 | ISRA'I | 104/5 | Ia | -lu | K2 | Isra'i:haske mai ganar da basira |
| 31 | JAKADIYA | 103/2 | Id | -ri | | Jakadiyar fikiri |
| 32 | JIHA 12 | *12/5 | IVb | -wa | 1967 | Marhaban da jiharmu goma Sha biyun da muke ginawa |
| 33 | JIHAR KANO | 53/5 | IVa | ba | K2 | Jihar Kano munka fi so A ba mu ba Kaduna ba |
| 34 | JIYA | 56/4 | IVa | -ya | IVa | Jiya da yau |
| 35 | JUMHURIYA I | 100/5 | IVb | -ya | 1963 | (none given) |
| 36 | JUMHURIYA II | 73/5 | IVb | -wa | 1971 | Murnar juyowar shekarar Jumhuriya |
| 37 | KADAURA | 87/2 | IIb | -wa | 1970 | Kadaura babbar inuwa |
| 38 | KADUNA I | 229/2 | IIIa | -na | 1974 | Wasika 'yar Kaduna |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 39 | KAFIYYA | 254/2 | Ia | -ka | | Kafiyya/Mai uwa dabam da maraya |
| 40 | KICIBIS A | 221/2 | IVb | -ya | | Kicibis mugun gamo, Soja |
| 41 | KICIBIS B | 84/2 | IVb | -ba | | Murna ba za ta tsufa ba |
| 42 | KAIKAI | *14/2 | V | -ka | K2b | Kaikayi a karata |
| 43 | KALUBALE | 48/2 | IIb | -le | 1970 | A yau ne garnannen buki<br>Na wakokin kalubale |
| 44 | KOKO | 124/5 | Ia | ba | | Kokon mabarata |
| 45 | LEGAS | 94/2 | IIIb | CVs | 1969 | Kasaitaccen gari Legas |
| 46 | MARABA | 50/2 | IVb | -R-r | 1960 | Maraba maraba |
| 47 | MAULIDI I | 41/5 | Ia | -la | | Godiyar Sarki Allah |
| 48 | MAULIDI II | 35/5 | Ia | -la | | Daren babbar Sallah |
| 49 | MAULIDI III | 63/5 | Ia | -di | | Hasken asuba |
| 50 | MAZA | 364/2 | IVb | -wa | | Maza kunun barkono |
| 51 | MAZAJE | 249/2 | IVb | -ya | | Najeriya mazaje<br>Mun ci gashin kanmu nan kasar tun jiya |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 52 | MURTALA | 91/5 | IIIa | -la | | Madadin Fasahar Hausa ga kuma taaziya,<br>Najeriya, sannunmu Allai sanyaya,<br>Allah shi gafarta wa Shugaba Murtala |
| 53 | NA'IBI | 52/2 | IIIa | -bi | | Dattijo wargi babu wa - Sa babu Malam Na'ibi |
| 54 | NAIRA | 95/2 | IIIc | -ya | | Naira da kwabo tsababbiya |
| 55 | NAJERIYA | 64/5 | IVb | -R+r | | Najeriya da fawa |
| 56 | NASIHA | 66/2 | Ib | -ya | | Nasiha zuwa gun 'yan'uwa |
| 57 | NOMA | 209/2 | IIIc | -ma | | Ba wani ci gaba yau mai girma Zababbar sana'a sai noma |
| 58 | RIJIYA | 26/5 | Ia | -ni | K2b | Mun tona sabuwar rijiya/ Wakar yabon Manzon Allah |
| 59 | SAKO | 56/2 | Id | -ni | K2 | Sako a hannun mumini Zai kai shi ba wani bimbini |
| 60 | SANI | 50/2 | V | -ni | 1974 | Kafanga Alhaji Shehu Malam Sani |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 61 SANIYA | 68/2 | IIIc | -ya | 1970 | Daddadan dadi Saniya |
| 62 SANSAN | 263/2 | IVb | -ya | 1973 | Muna fata mu san nasarar kidaya |
| 63 SOJA | 95/5 | IVb | soja | 1967 | Jiki Magayi/Wakar yabon sojoji |
| 64 SOMI | 55/2 | IIb | -ta/-na | 1974 | Somin tabin almajiran makaranta |
| 65 TAKA | 143/2 | IVa | -ba | | Taka a yanke a raba |
| 66 TALBIJIN | 30/2 | IIIb | -na | | Mun gode Hukumat Talbijin |
| 67 TAURARO | 27/5 | IVa | -ni | 1958 | Tauraron zamani |
| 68 TUBA I | 79/2 | Ic | -ba | | Allah sanya mu gane |
| 69 TUBA II | 251/2 | Ic | -ba | | Tuba maganin kazamin aiki |
| 70 TUNKU | 275/2 | IVb | -ku | | Tunku da karau |
| 71 UMMARA | 204/2 | IIIa | -ra | | Wakar yabon Shehun Barno Umar Garbai |
| 72 USMAN | 29/5 | Id | -ni | | Tijjaniyya Usmaniyya |
| 73 YARO | 81/5 | IIb | -ba | | Yaro ba ya zama babba In ba ilmi ya tara ba |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 74 | 'YAN DARA | 162/2 | IIc | -ra | | Mu aikata gaskiya 'yan dara |
| 75 | 'YAN MAKARANTA | 184/2 | IIb | -ya | | Mai motsarwa kan aiki da barin yin kyuya |
| 76 | 'YAR FILANI | 25/5 | IVa | -ya | | 'Yar Filani yawren yawre |
| 77 | 'YAR GAGARA I | 110/2 | IIa | -R-r | 1961 | 'Yar Gagara/Kwamacala |
| 78 | 'YAR GAGARA II | *84/5 | IIa | -R+r | K2b | Sabo turken wawa/ Jiya da yau |
| 79 | ZALUNCI | 25/5 | IVa | -ci | B | A hura wuta a ga na mai rabo |

* = fragments

A yau ne garnannen buki

Na wakokin kalubale.

1 Kulun kulufit : abu dunkule,

Kalau na kale, kalubale:

2 Ka cinci ka-ci : miye abin

Da ke yado, kuma dunkule?

3 Ya watsu, ya barbazu, tattare?

Da rassa, ga shi a mulmule?

4 Kadan ka ture zuciya,

Da ilmu ake kalubale.

5 Abin da ya kyautu da mu mu yi:

Mu himmatu kar mu kashangale.

6 Mu kyale bukata kowace,

Cikin ilmi mu shugulgule.

7 A ofis, ko a cikin sito,

A ko wane gu ya makalkale,

8 Mu je mu tsaya mu fito da shi,

Mu jajjawo shi mu kwakule.

9 Ina magana kan ilmu ne:

A nan kumshinsa na walwale.

10 Da kyau haka bai zama aibu ba,

A kan ilmi mu zakalkale.

11 Cikin nema nasa kar mu ji

Kasala, kar mu katangale.

## Appendix B

### KALUBALE: text and translation*

Today is the distinguished festival
of poetic challenge.

1 Riddle-me-ree: something solid!
There, I've properly stumped you. Come on, I dare you!

2 Guess and guess again: what thing is it
that creeps, yet is solid?

3 Spreads and scatters, (yet) gathered together?
Has branches, (yet is) compressed solid?

4 If you set aside the mind/heart,
with Knowledge is a challenge taken up.

5 What is good to do, let us do (it);
let us be determined, not slack and lax.

6 Let us ignore every other desire,
and with learning become fully involved.

7 In the office, or in the store,
in whatever place it clings,

8 Let us go, stand firm and bring it out,
drag it out, nay winkle it out.

9 I speak of Knowledge;
that is the bundle I now unwrap.

10 Good it is, and no bad thing,
Our rapacious greed for Knowledge to show.

11 In searching for it we should not feel
lazy, nor be haphazard(?)

---

* With acknowledgement to Professor Arnott for helpful suggestions with the translation.

12 Kadan ba ka gane ilmu ba,
Ba ka cure ba, ka dunkule;

13 Ba ka shafe ba ka lailaye,
Ba za ka nada ba ka mulmule.

14 Kadan ba ilmu gare ka ba,
Cikin sha'ani kai ne bale.

15 Kana kallo a yi ban da kai,
Ganinka da ji ka dabalbale.

16 Bakar magana a yi ma ka ji
A dole ka zam ka dakile.

17 Rashin ilmi in yai daku,
Ba a ga fara ba a dunkule.

18 Kiran mu nake, jama'a, mu ji,
Mu amsa, kar fa mu dakile.

19 Mu lura da saurin zamani,
Ya dafe kansa ya walwale,

20 A gurguje ba ya waiwaye;
Mu nace binsa azazzale.

21 Mu zabura shi ya fi kyau da mu,
Mu cure kasarmu mu dunkule.

22 Da gaske mu zage damtsuna,
Mu hau ilmi mu makalkale.

23 A nan ya kyautu na tambaya,
Abin da ya hardu a walwale:

12 If you do not comprehend learning,

you'll not be able to knead into a solid ball,

13 You'll not smooth and soften (it) over;

you'll not roll (it) up and compress.

14 If you are without knowledge,

in any affair it's you who are left in the cold.

15 You look on while things are done without you,

your sight and hearing all awry.

16 Ridicule is thrown at you, you have to listen

and must perforce be dumb.

17 Ignorance, when it casts its die,

one cannot win the throw.

18 I call on us, my friends, to listen,

to answer and not be dumb.

19 We must note the speedy lapse of Time

as it hastes on its way unrolling as it goes,

20 Fast a-running, with ne'er a backward glance;

we must press on in urgent pursuit of it.

21 Let us spring forward, that is our best course,

to knead our earth and make a solid ball of it;

22 Resolutely to bare our arms,

to mount Knowledge and cling to it tenaciously.

23 Here it is right that I ask,

that what is tangled may be unravelled.

24 A yau ƙoshi waye da shi?

Mutan ilmi suka hamdale.

25 Su waye masu faɗa a ji,

Da sun magana ta daddale?

26 Cikon girma wa ke da shi?

Mutan ilmi suka kammale.

27 Ashe masana su ne gaba,

A kome ba su zama bale.

28 Abin da ya nemi ya wargaje,

Da shi ilmi kan mulmule.

29 Mu tashi mu miƙe kyam tsaye,

Mu nemi sani mu fi'ittale.

30 Ina wani in ba ilmu ba,

Da in lamari ya dagule,

31 Ya kwakkwaɓe, ya dabalbale,

Yana nema ya jagwalgwale,

32 Da zai tsamo shi ya fid da shi,

Irin rikicinsa ya walwale?

33 Fasaha ba ta wadar mutum,

Kadan ilmi ya ɗangale.

34 Kadan da sani, ba a tsiya:

Rashinsa ya sa a taɓalɓale.

35 Marar ilmi ba ya gaba,

A bar shi a baya masha-tile.

24 Who today has satisfaction?

Learned men are the contented ones.

25 Who are they that speak and are listened to,

whose word when uttered is final?

26 Complete respectability - who possesses it?

Learned have all.

27 So in fact the wise are the leaders,

in nothing left behind.

28 What tends to break apart,

with Knowledge is cemented together.

29 Let us arise, stand up firm and straight,

seek knowledge and be pround of it(?)

30 Who is there besides Knowledge

that, when a matter is muddied,

31 Churned up and confused,

about to become a filthy mess,

32 That can save and rescue it,

its entanglement undo?

33 Art is of no value to man

if Knowledge is crippled.

34 If there is Knowledge, there is no poverty:

its absence brings degeneration.

35 The ignorant man does not progress,

he is left behind nought but a smoker of fag-ends.

36 Juhala noman Barka ne:

Da baya da baya ya zoƙale.

37 Marar ilmi, dattijo ne

Irin na biri mai ɗan kwale.

38 Cikin zarafin assha da tir

Marar ilmi ya zaƙalƙale.

39 Wajen madalla babu shi,

Da an jawo shi ya zumbule.

40 Fa duk sha'aninsa daban daban,

Marar nasara, a jagwalgwale.

41 A nan bana dai kam babu shi,

Bale baɗi, can ya taɓalɓale.

42 Kadan an duba shi kuwa,

A kan rasa inda ya maƙƙale.

43 Fa ba shi a nan kuma babu can,

Kawai shi dai ya gantale.

44 Akwai zaƙin baki garai,

Marar ma'ana da yawa tule.

45 Da farko bai nem ilmu ba,

Da ya zai gane yau, bale?

46 Shakwab da Lakwab, da Na-maƙƙale:

A yau za ai ta, a daddale!

36 Ignorance is Barka's farming:

back and back it goes for all its continual repetition.

37 The ignorant man is an old gentleman

like a monkey, with a woman's tiny cheek-mark.

38 It's in sorry and unseemly matters

that the ignoramus comes to the fore.

39 In matters of grace and propriety he is missing;

when you would draw him on he slips away.

40 His every affair is eccentric,

unsuccessful, messy.

41 This year he is not here,

much less the next year - he has faded away to nothing.

42 And if he is sought,

you'll fail to find where he is tucked away.

43 Why, he is neither here nor there -

simply a lost and worthless vagabond.

44 He has a pleasant enough tongue -

an abundant flow of sheer nonsense.

45 From the start he did not seek knowledge:

how then can he understand today, let alone - ?

46 Flabby and Floppy, and Hanger-on:

today the matter will be finalised,

47 A wannan garnannen buki,

Na wakokin kalubale.

48 Salamu alekum, sai badi:

Akilu Aliyu ya hamdale.

47 In this distinguished festival

of poetic challenge.

48 Peace be unto you - till another year:

it's Akilu Aliyu expressing his gratitude to God.

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N.B. N.O.R.L.A. = Northern Region Literacy Angency.

N.N.P.C. = Northern Nigerian Publishing Company.